NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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January 1947 Volume XXXVI, No. 1

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate $5.25; foreign $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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PUBLICATION OFFICE: 150 Fremont Street, Worcester, Mass.
EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
Entered as Second Class Matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Mass.

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXVI, No. 1 **Total Number 362**

Published monthly except August

By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Illinois U Library

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The League's Business

Executive Committee Plans Larger Budget

The executive committee of the League's council met in New York, November 26, 1946. Present were Richard S. Childs, chairman of the council, presiding; George Arents, Dr. Frederick L. Bird, Philip H. Cornick, John S. Linen, Mark S. Matthews, Lawson Purdy, Carl H. Pforzheimer, C. Thomas Schettino representing President Charles Edison, Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary, and John E. Bebout, assistant secretary.

In accordance with the policy established by the council at its November 11 meeting in Philadelphia, a plan was discussed to increase the budget to meet the unprecedented need for the League's services.

The following conclusions and decisions emerged:

1. The League has never done an adequate job of planned, organized promotion;
2. The record, standing and program of the League give it a unique position in the national civic field;
3. There should be a program designed to produce at least $100,000 in new money, largely in corporate contributions;
4. To keep the budget at a higher level, there should be continuous follow-up and promotion;
5. A new type of promotional literature is needed, presenting the various phases of the League program in non-technical terms of concrete goals and results. Contact should be maintained with contributors through achievement reports and visits from a staff or council member.

Mr. Willoughby reported that some hotels are heavily reserved for conventions through 1947 and into 1948. He was authorized to open negotiations for holding the 1947 conference.

Noted Civic Figure Passes

Richard Welling, noted New York civic leader for more than half a century, died December 17 well along in his 88th year. After graduating from Harvard in 1880, where he was the strong man (physically) of his class, he practiced law in New York but promptly began devoting a large share of his time and considerable energy to the task of being a strong man (morally) in numerous civic battles.

His name is to be found on the original membership rolls of the National Municipal League and various New York civic organizations. He was always a staunch supporter of the League, serving at times as a member of the council. At his death he was an honorary vice president. He had also served prominently, as president and in other capacities, such organizations as the Civil Service Reform Association, Associaton for the Improvement of the Poor, the Municipal Art Association, the George Junior Republic, the National Self Government Committee, of which he was founder and president, and numerous others.

He served with distinction in the United States Navy in the Spanish-American War and World War I. He wrote various books on problems of government, politics and citizenship, including, several years before his death, his modest autobiography, *As the Twig Is Bent.*

Jones Named Finance Chief

Lieutenant Colonel Howard P. Jones, League secretary on military leave, has been appointed chief, public finance branch, Office of Military Government, in Berlin, according to a December announcement. He succeeds Carl H. Chatters, former executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers Association, who is now comptroller of the Port of New York Authority. Colonel Jones, who was New York State deputy comptroller prior to entering the army, has undertaken his new duties as a civilian.

Mr. Crump Wants Some Facts

SEVERAL of the addresses delivered at the National Conference on Government appear in this issue: those of Charles Edison, newly elected president of the National Municipal League; Harold W. Dodds, former secretary and former president, and George H. Gallup, vice president of the League; and Luther Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration.

All four of these forthright addresses should give the thoughtful citizen pause. Many will be stirred particularly by Dr. Gulick's blistering indictment of the predatory politician. One person mentioned in the address, Edward H. Crump, commonly identified as the boss of Memphis, was stirred to the point of making the following statement to *The Press-Scimitar* of Memphis:

> Referring to remarks of Luther Gulick of New York, director of Institute of Public Administration, that I was "the undisputed head of the not-so-invisible government of Tennessee who has taken from the people the freedom and right of voting for candidates of one's own choosing": he is another theorist who deals in more words than facts. In August primary and the November general elections every man and woman was of course privileged to vote for his choice and did so without the slightest interference on my part. Therefore his remarks are wholly untrue and uncalled for. During the past, 30 candidates running for major offices in Tennessee have made the same charge unsupported by facts and they all went to their doom. Memphis is the cleanest city, morally and physically, in America. There is more honesty and less graft here than any place in the country.

It would be gratuitous to defend Dr. Gulick's distinguished record as a finder and user of facts. His name looms large in public administration and his accomplishments in local, state, national and world affairs are impressive and too numerous to detail here. Anyway, Mr. Crump's answer is simply typical of the politician's technique of using personal denunciation when he lacks sound argument. Let's look in some detail at the record Dr. Gulick had in mind when he paid his respects to Boss Crump.

Back in the autumn of 1939, just for example, petitions for the nomination of Mr. Crump's candidate for mayor were circulated. The outside world was amazed to learn that the name of the candidate was left out—to be filled in later, AFTER the signing was done, when Ed Crump had made up his mind. But the people of Memphis weren't even mildly surprised. That was nothing new to them.

Newspapers and other publications have frequently published facts about the kind of politics Mr. Crump plays but it might be that, in view of his all too obvious philosophy regarding what is and what is not a self-governing system, he considered these accounts more flattering than otherwise.

Time, the magazine, did a pretty thorough summarizing job on Mr. Crump in its issue of May 27, 1946. The article granted that, because Mr. Crump so willed it, Memphis has amazingly clean streets, dozens of parks and playgrounds, fine schools, libraries, one of the finest zoos in the U.S., a fair grounds, an E. H. Crump Stadium, good hospitals, good health, low taxes and utility rates, virtually no grafting—"Crump forbade it. Officials who took money for themselves (as opposed to accepting contributions from liquor stores, business houses, juke-box and pinball operators for the Crump machine) were prosecuted."

The weight of other revelations in the article is startling and disturbing. A few excerpts:

"At its [the machine's] core was a drum-tight control of the Negro vote. For as Memphians reflect: The nigger doesn't vote, he is voted. Thus, at any time, day or night, year in, year out, whenever Ed Crump pulled the lever of his political slot machine, he hit the jackpot—a clear majority of 40,000 to 60,000 votes, enough not only to inundate Memphis but to control Tennessee as well. . . .

"[His office] is not only a political nerve center but headquarters for one of the South's largest insurance and mortgage loan businesses. In 22 years, E. H. Crump & Co. has experienced a phenomenal growth; many a Memphis business man understandably believes that insurance with Crump has a double value. . . .

"From a Chamber of Commerce viewpoint, the Memphis of Ed Crump left little to be desired. But was it a part of free America? Tennessee's own Andy Jackson would not have thought so. Yet, as muckraker Lincoln Steffens discovered four decades ago, boss-ridden Memphis had followed the pattern of countless U.S. municipalities. . . .

"In the years of political wars the organization had grown stronger and resistance had diminished. Critics of the boss were never free of the fear that they might find themselves in court—before a Crump judge. . . .

"A member of the Organization who showed the slightest signs of disloyalty was through in politics. Most retired. Some, like former Governor Gordon Browning, were persuaded. Browning, a big, forceful Huntingdon attorney, got 60,000 votes in Shelby County in 1936 by virtue of the Organization's backing. But after he took office he 'began to eat too high on the hog.' Cried Crump: 'Gordon Browning is the kind of a man who would milk his neighbor's cow through a crack in the fence. In the art galleries of Paris there are 27 pictures of Judas Iscariot—and none look alike but they all resemble Gordon Browning.' In 1938, when Browning had the temerity to run for re-election, he was beaten; he lost Shelby County by 60,000 votes. No Tennessee politician missed the lesson. . . ."

All this is only a slight smell of the saga of Edward H. Crump. He clearly believes himself to be a humanitarian and public benefactor. He just wouldn't understand a "theorist" like Luther Gulick.

Let's Quarantine the Bosses

Former New Jersey Governor, foe of Hagueism, gives some sound suggestions for taking "the boss" out of politics.

By CHARLES EDISON*

IN the first half century of its career the National Municipal League has done an immense amount of good work, and in the next half I am sure it will do still more. The work of the League has always appealed to me because it has been my long-standing conviction that a great democracy such as the United States can exist only upon a foundation of local democracies. Any people, to govern themselves successfully, must get experience in the art of government.

The place where the people can get their experience at self-government—and each generation must learn anew—is in the local governments—cities, boroughs, towns, townships, counties, school districts and states. If local governments are true democracies we need never worry about the Great Society not being one. But, we cannot expect a great democracy to exist upon a foundation of local dictatorship.

So the struggle to quarantine the bosses is endless. It must be continued so long as any politician, by fear or fraud or force or favor, seeks to pervert the machinery of government to his own uses. When a boss in one area is defeated by the forces of democracy, the battle must be renewed somewhere else, for as long as the human race turns up ruthless and selfish men they must be fought by those who are unselfish and who seek the common good. Fortunately, humanity always turns up some of them too.

In these days of world-wide political problems the attention of intelligent people is too easily attracted to the big governments and they forget the little ones. It is a fundamental error to think that if we can solve the big problems of the big governments the little ones will solve themselves. They won't.

On the contrary, the corrupt influence of the little governments will work up into national and even international affairs. Senators and judges who are products of local political machines cannot be expected to rise above the ethical level of the environment that produced them when, upon some momentous occasion, they are given new and great authority. They are likely to think that they can run the nation or the world as they ran the Third Ward.

How can the bosses be quarantined? If I knew all the answers there would be one less notorious big boss today. That he is still functioning shows there is still more to be learned and more to be done. But the fact that he did not do so well during and since my administration and was so decisively beaten in the

*Mr. Edison, former governor of New Jersey and president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., was elected president of the National Municipal League at its recent National Conference on Government in Philadelphia. This article is his address before the conference on November 11.

recent election shows, too, that some methods are effective.

'I Am the Law'

The first thing I learned is that the control of the processes of the law is the key to the boss's power. So long as he owns judges, prosecutors, jury commissioners, and so on, he is not only invulnerable, but also he can turn the legal machinery against the forces of decent government. No matter how good your case—no matter what the boss has done to corrupt democracy—you cannot get him or his henchmen convicted if he can prevent a grand jury from bringing in an indictment, or if he can get a judge to quash the indictment, or if his prosecutor will not prosecute, or if his sheriff or jury commissioner has fixed the petty jury.

In other words, if a boss can control the processes of the law at any one of these points, he can protect himself and his henchmen. He has only to control one—the forces of democracy must control them all. In view of this fact, it is really remarkable that as many bosses have gone to jail as the record shows.

The place to begin attacking the boss is with the machinery of justice. Justice is the foundation of democracy. Get the boss's men out of it and honest and courageous men in.

The boss must be expected, when he can, to turn the forces of the law against any group that threatens him. We have had plenty of such experiences in New Jersey—trumped-up charges that led to long and expensive litigation, injunctions against investigations, the making of new law when the boss's judges had to make it, the suppression and even the destruction of evidence, the framing and intimidation of witnesses, the persecution of members of the reform group by law suits.

So going after a boss is no job for the faint-hearted. It entails dangers and sacrifices just as real and just as painful as any other kind of warfare.

The second thing to fight is the boss's power over the processes of taxation. The power to tax is the power to destroy—especially when that power is in the hands of ruthless bosses.

When I was governor of New Jersey we had an investigation of the Hudson County Tax Board, a quasi-judicial state tax appeal body. Although the state laws required the board to grant hearings to all taxpayers who filed petitions complaining about high assessments, by a taxing district, the board apparently met on extraordinarily few occasions. It left everything to a faithful clerk who took the petitions of appeal around to the homes of the members where they signed their names under the rubber stamp marked "Affirmed as assessed."

Numerous items were turned up, however, of tax reduction favors granted by the Hague organization to judges, justices, friends and cohorts of the political boss. The petitions of these taxpayers contained a different notification—"OK-B. O'B." and reductions were thereby granted, also without hearings. B. O'B. were the initials of a taxing official of Jersey City.

Here was a state appeal body having its decisions set by officials

of a local taxing district against which petitions had been filed. Here indeed were perfect examples of the misuse of the taxing power by a boss in order to reward his friends and, I can assure you, in order to punish his enemies. Charges were brought and proved against the Hudson County Tax Board. The board members were removed. Public-spirited men were appointed and today assessments are pretty much at a reasonable and fair level.

Always on the Job

The third thing to learn is that it is hard to line up and keep lined up the forces of decency to enforce the quarantine of a boss. Not many people are willing to make the necessary sacrifices of time, money and reputation. One gets lots of pats on the back and not much money, many kind words and mighty little work.

The machine, on the other hand, has a disciplined army—one that is motivated by the strongest of human drives, the desire to hold on to jobs and to stay out of jail. Its members will, if need be, work 24 hours a day against the forces of good government, who will work only in their spare time.

The forces of bad government have, by and large, greater sources of income than the forces of good government. It is like pulling teeth to raise ten thousand dollars for a campaign against the most infamous political machine, while the machine can raise that much in 24 hours from any one of its many sources of money —from slot machines, from the tip-sheets, from the numbers game or some similar source.

I have seen New Jersey plastered with billboard advertising from one end of the state to the other; I have seen evidence of millions of lying letters mailed out; I have seen full-page advertisements published in every daily paper, not once, but day after day. The me-for-me boys had a thousand dollars for every one that the forces of good government had.

The effect of all this money for publicity for the boss's gang can be overcome in large part by a good government organization because most newspapers are independent. They will publish the advertising if the boss pays for it, but they will do what they can to diminish its effect. For instance, there was the editorial in the *Trenton Times* that began, "On another page Mayor Hague publishes another of his lying advertisements. . . "

In the hiring of those all-important election day workers, however, the machine has an advantage that the forces of decency have great difficulty in overcoming. But they can overcome it. The Cincinnati Charter Committee has proved it. Many other local groups have proved that once they get going, unpaid volunteer workers can beat the professionals; that in time a citizens' army of men fighting for their homes, their freedom, will beat an army of mercenaries fighting for wages. It takes organization, leadership and work—mostly work. It includes doorbell ringing—talking to voters in their homes, on the trains, at the corner store—in season and out of season. The district leader of your party knows that there is no substitute for

the house-to-house canvass—before election day and on election day.

Is that too tough? Just try it. Once you've broken the ice, you'll find it's even fun. There is no way like it to get to know the ultimate sovereign in our democracy, the individual voter, and what makes him tick.

The boss has another advantage in that he will use any weapon or device that promises to be effective—lies, smears, slanders, threats, bribery, spies, anything—whereas the people who are seeking decent government are confined to the use of decent weapons. The most promising workers have been bought off with jobs; attempts have been made to railroad others to jail. Some have been beaten, their families threatened.

Form of Government Important

A fourth lesson is that, necessary as good men are, good government is also a matter of machinery—of the form of government. Some people will tell you that the only thing, really, is to elect good men to office. That is a delusion, indeed a dangerous delusion. A good state constitution or city charter is important and may make good government easy and natural; it may make boss-ridden government difficult and unnatural.

The boss knows this just as well as, and perhaps better than, the decent citizen knows it. Proposals for constitutional or charter reform will produce the most violent reaction from a political machine—or at least that was our experience in New Jersey when we tried to get a new and revised state constitution.

The fact that the bosses don't like modernized constitutions and charters is one of the best reasons for advocating them. It shows that the National Municipal League is on the right track with its model state constitution and its model city charter.

Another piece of machinery that is often helpful in quarantining a boss, or cutting him down nearer to size, is the merit system. Civil service has its deficiencies and there are ways in which a political machine can get around the intent of an absolutely nonpartisan public service, staffed according to ability. Even Jersey City has civil service. But the fact is that no boss willingly submits to the adoption of civil service. Once it has been adopted, it is another weapon ready to the hand of any enlightened civic forces in the community. And it inevitably does limit to some extent the opportunity of the boss to manipulate public employees wholly for his own purpose.

Here is what has just happened in Hoboken. Once nicknamed "The Seacoast of Bohemia," Hoboken has for years been the fief of one of Mr. Hague's most powerful vassals. The lord of this not too princely domain is McFeeley, and it's a family, not a man. It consists of the mayor, Bernard or Barney McFeeley, his brother, the chief of police, Edward McFeeley, to say nothing of Dennis McFeeley and other numerous cousins, nephews and assorted related McFeeleys.

Now, thanks to the fact that grand juries, courts and prosecuting officers in Hudson County are no longer controlled by the boss, four McFeeleys

and seven of their henchmen are groaning under a 22-page indictment for some of their vicious activities since last year.

To add insult to injury, the voters of Hoboken in November voted 8,499 to 5,014 for civil service over the bitter opposition of the machine. The movement for civil service as well as the indictment grew out of an alleged conspiracy by members of the machine to persecute and browbeat certain policemen who were seeking compliance with the state law giving them one day a week off and other reasonable benefits.

Out of the Mire

The civil service campaign was spearheaded by the Hoboken League of Women voters, the Hoboken Police Benevolent Association and the Hoboken Branch of the New Jersey Independent League. They got the facts about their local situation; they got information about civil service from the state; they got other information and campaign suggestions from the National Municipal League and the National Civil Service League. They put on a fast, imaginative campaign. And they won. They now have the McFeeley bosses on the run. And they say they have only just begun to fight.

These groups are seriously considering a campaign for the council-manager plan. In any event, it looks as if Hoboken may soon be seeking readmission to the union. That, if you know Hoboken, is something.

A sixth lesson is the necessity for strong and continuous citizens' organizations, such as the citizens' unions, city clubs, bureaus of municipal research—whatever their names. There are not enough of them. None is as strong as it ought to be. Unfortunately there are few organized on a state basis, and the activities of most of them are not broad enough.

There should be a citizen organization operating in every state, checking on candidates, studying legislation, suggesting new and better ways of doing the public business, commending good officials and condemning incompetent or corrupt ones. This kind of organization can indeed quarantine a boss before he gets so big and powerful that only the federal government can reach him. In other words, we need more preventive medicine.

There should be more city parties —political parties that operate exclusively in city elections—drawing their issues only from city questions. I know that local, state and national issues often coincide or overlap; but there is not, on the whole, a Democratic or Republican way of governing a city or a county.

National party rivalries are forced down into localities where they have no place to be. The bosses take advantage of this and demand loyalty of all Democrats or of all Republicans as the case may be. Entirely too often they get it and voters mark the straight ticket to vote away their local democracy.

Another observation about how to quarantine a boss might be put this way: the cooperation of the federal government is immensely helpful and may be indispensable. A small, local boss may be upset in the state or local courts if he has not

grown powerful enough to control them, but a big boss may so dominate the whole community that external force is needed.

A really shrewd boss—the kind we produce in New Jersey—will so infiltrate every institution—the bar association, some business organizations, the labor unions, and so on—that he is protected at every point. He will have an understanding or alliance with the other political party if he can.

But a hostile United States district attorney and an honest United States district judge make bad boss medicine. If you think over the recent cases in Kansas City, Atlantic City and Louisiana, you will agree.

Two-party Cooperation

One more point should be made. The boss system is bipartisan. The boss and his henchmen are interested in themselves, not the party. Their natural allies are not the decent citizens who comprise the membership of both parties. Their allies are the bosses of the so-called opposite party.

Of course it's fine for a boss to have a monopoly in his own bailiwick, but when he cannot conquer the boss of a neighboring city he forms an alliance with him. The bosses of both parties are the enemies of all the people of both parties.

This furnishes a clue as to what the people must do to defeat them. They must unite to make war on the common enemy. That is what we have been doing in New Jersey for the last six years. The fight against Hague has been waged by Democrats and Republicans through two administrations, one Democratic and one Republican. The only reason that Hague is literally on the ropes today is the fact that the good citizens of New Jersey have not allowed party labels to divide them.

Democrats for Driscoll helped at the November election to pile up the majority for our next governor which means that the political drought for Mr. Hague will last at least another three years. That will probably be enough.

Perhaps that's what Judge Hansen, Mr. Hague's defeated candidate for governor, meant the day after election when he said, "I can take it. Naturally I am disappointed but the man I'm sorry for is Mayor Hague." Incidentally it is good to note that in the same election in which Democrats helped elect a Republican governor to continue the fight to restore New Jersey to the people Republicans in a South Jersey county helped elect a Democrat to the Senate, thus retiring one of the Republican "Dead End Kids" whom Hague used to count on in the pinches.

Of course, the bosses always shout traitor at party members who oppose them. But the real traitor to a party is the boss who refuses to permit strong organizations to grow from the grass roots. Every time a promising local leader appears who might strengthen the party in an outlying county he is knocked down, unless he can be annexed. As a result of this tactic, the Democratic organization in most New Jersey counties has long since gone to pieces.

(Continued on page 60)

Voter's Role in a Democracy

The fate of our way and individual freedom is wrapped up in the vigor and effectiveness of voluntary civic groups.

By HAROLD W. DODDS*

BACK OF all our thinking about social affairs these days lies the eternal question of human freedom.

Modern philosophy on this subject runs back to the eighteenth century, which was one of the greatest eras in the history of human thought. The eighteenth century philosophers believed in natural law and reason. They were opposed to artificial social and political restrictions which obstructed the ordinary processes of natural law. Man had a natural right to use his reason in accordance with natural law, and this natural rights doctrine paved the way for the free society we enjoy today and the even freer society to which we aspire tomorrow. It likewise furnished the ethical basis for the American Revolution and has since colored all political development in the United States. To the eighteenth century philosophers government seemed the greatest obstacle to freedom. The question persists even until today.

Briefly but accurately stated, the modern question regarding human freedom is, "Can big government and individual freedom—as we understand the term, not as the Russians understand it—be reconciled?" Can big government and human liberty exist in peace and harmony with each other, for whatever we may think about big government—and it has both its good and bad features—the trend of the times is certainly in its favor.

Throughout the last 25 years Americans have been paying much more attention to the expanding scope and authority of government than they have to the more old-fashioned subject of political science, to the proficiency of our government as an instrument of popular will. Consideration of the physiology and hygiene of government, to which the National Municipal League has devoted its attention for more than half a century, has not attracted much notice in recent years. Yet never since the days of the Federalist Papers has the matter of the efficiency and responsibility of democratic government been more important.

My proposition, therefore, is that the time has come to renew our interest in the structure, organization and functioning of government if the citizen is to retain control of it and democracy is to be preserved. This has always been the particular concern of the National Municipal League, and its work was never more

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essential than today. From the very beginning the League has been chiefly occupied with the position of the voter in a democracy and how his will can be made effective.

The expanding scope and authority of government have made the role of the voter more critical and more significant than ever. We may well ask: Is there not grave danger that the voter may be losing his understanding of his government and corresponding control over it?

Role of the Voter

Forty years ago James Bryce delivered a series of lectures at Yale University which were later published under the title *Hindrances to Good Citizenship*. He pointed out the familiar discrepancy between what the theory of democracy requires of its citizens and what the practice of democracy reveals. No other form of government calls for such high intelligence, public spirit and civic virtue. Yet everywhere, he observed, democracy had failed to live up to expectations.

The first obstacle to the success of democratic government which he described was the sin of indolence. It consisted, he said, of a neglect to inform one's self on public issues and to vote, and in an unwillingness to serve in public office. This apathy contradicted the basic assumption of classical democracy that the average man must be "an active, instructed and intelligent ruler of his country."

The second hindrance to good citizenship was private self-interest. The rawest form was the outright bribery of voters and public officials. Less flagrant, but equally dangerous, were the efforts of economic groups to influence government for selfish reasons. The numbers controlled inordinately by self-interest, Bryce said, were numerically small but politically important. They never sleep and they work in dangerous secrecy.

The third hindrance was party spirit. "Allegiance to party," wrote Bryce, "replaces loyalty to the nation, when party spirit really takes hold to one."

The Trusting Citizen

Since Bryce wrote, a notable change has taken place in the attitudes of democratic peoples toward their governments. Despite the failure of democracy to meet early specifications, the people seem to trust their governments more than ever. Certainly they are willing to grant them powers far beyond those deemed proper 40 years ago. So rapid and dramatic has been the expansion of governmental functions that few have stopped to consider how big government may be affecting the role of the citizen in a democracy.

Has the ordinary citizen as full a comprehension of political issues today as he used to have? Who really is in the driver's seat, the voter or the official? Unless the citizen's understanding of political issues keeps pace with their growing complexity, may he not be destined to lose control over his officials? And if he loses control over his officials, what happens to democracy?

Consider first Bryce's sin of indolence. If it was hard a generation ago for the naturally indolent voter

—and this includes the great majority of us—to acquire an adequate understanding of political issues, how much more difficult must it be today when public questions have become so much more confusing than they were in those happy days before labor economists, farm economists, money economists, foreign trade economists and the like arose to confound us?

Task of the Voter

It is not only a moral question of the laziness of voters. It touches the capacity of busy people who must work for their living to comprehend the issues in their baffling complexity. We cannot ask the voter to perform the impossible. It is, therefore, a sobering question to ask how far popular government can go in multiplying political power without driving the people to rationalize their confusion and mental frustration by unwittingly abdicating in favor of the leadership principle.

Unless the voter feels that he understands his government, he cannot have a sense of ownership in it. Unless he has a sense of ownership in it, he cannot control it. Unless he controls it, there is no democracy.

Similar doubts arise when we come to private self-interest. We can agree that self-interest has always been a sinister influence in politics, but can we be as sure today as Bryce was that the number or influence of people politically dominated by it are few? Is not the influence and effects of this group more extensive today than he conceived? The more the state enlarges its sphere of action the greater is the incentive to the electorate to work and vote with a view to their own pockets.

Today's 'Pork Barrel'

Reformers used to pour heated condemnation on the old rivers and harbors appropriation acts, which siphoned taxpayers' money into dredging obscure streams to win votes for congressmen. In like manner the history of our protective tariff has been one long struggle of self-interests. But what about the dangers inherent in more modern forms of government aid to special interests, such as price-maintenance schemes, wage-fixing by legal fiat or government subsidies of silver, sugar, cotton or grain? All such measures favor groups politically organized.

What about the political strike, that new method of direct action that is becoming all too common? Irrespective of their humanitarian aspects, do not such policies and practices offer new opportunities and strong temptation for what is the moral equivalent of bribing voters?

Granted that big government is required to meet modern conditions, there are political evils latent in policies of public spending and governmental aid when they touch such large elements of the voters as they do today. Of course, we always have had pressure groups of some sort, but never have they been so substantial or so compactly organized and powerful as they are today.

Bryce's final hindrance was party spirit. As every schoolboy knows, the constitutional fathers identified political parties with the "spirit of faction." Fortunately, our fundamental

political sense has preserved us from suffering the worst forebodings of these eminent gentlemen. To date we have not developed to any real degree parties that could be described as factions of the sort that have marred parliamentary government on the continent of Europe. Can we, however, be so positive about the future? May not factional spirit rather than party spirit be emerging as a serious threat to good government?

Pressure groups are both a cause and an effect of expanding governmental activity. Loyalty to them cuts across loyalty to political party and thus tends to the disintegration of party responsibility. When strongly organized, the rank and file are more ready to accept discipline from their leaders and to follow them to a degree never attained by a party boss outside the limits of his "organization." Such leaders are becoming more powerful than old-fashioned party leaders ever were, because a controlling and embattled self-interest is made the center around which the groups are organized.

I am not one to despair regarding the improvement of voters in both virtue and intelligence. If voters were, or could be made, supremely diligent in their application to public affairs, wholly free from self-interest and coolly objective in their party attachments, our anxieties would evaporate, although politics would be a very dull business indeed.

But human beings stubbornly refuse to become either supremely virtuous or supremely intelligent. (Thank God, they decline to become supremely vicious as well.) Therefore, any pattern of democratic government must build on the basis of that quantum of civic intelligence and virtue which nature supplies and enlightenment can nourish. This means we must see to it that our structure of government is both responsible and efficient, that its scope is critically examined each time new functions are proposed.

Citizens' Moral Obligation

It will be noted that Bryce's hindrances to good citizenship—indolence, private self-interest and party spirit—have a strong moralistic flavoring and I should be the last to rule out the moral obligation of the individual to be a good citizen. But exhorting the citizen to civic virtue will not suffice. We must see to it that our political institutions are such as to encourage, rather than discourage, him to virtue. Especially must we avoid the mistake of imposing impossible demands on him, if we want him to be an effective citizen as opposed to a selfish participant.

If my foregoing analysis is correct, I think I have proved my thesis—namely, that the time is past due for some basic improvements in our political structure. There is time to suggest only a few items in the catalog of reforms. The National Municipal League has been concerned with all of them.

High on the list should be placed the need for restudy and revitalization of our federal system.

Our federal system was a great invention of the founding fathers, but it needs revitalization. We all know

that the nearer the citizen is to the seat of government the more active and effective his participation will be. Modern transportation and communications have altered the optimum effective size of local government and its functions but have not changed this principle.

This is not to suggest that we renew the old, futile debates over states' rights, which assumed a natural conflict of interests between the states and the national government. But this does not mean that the principle of distribution of functions between the national government, the states and the localities is obsolete. What we want is a federal government that really functions.

Redivision of Powers Needed

If a nation of continental dimensions is to operate on a truly popular principle, there are values in our state and local governments which should be retained. There is still work for them to perform and modern technology does not demand that they wither away into mere geographical expressions. The fact that the old division of powers which was appropriate 150 years ago no longer fits the case and that new arrangements along modern functional lines are indicated is no ground for abandoning the sound principle of federalism.

The revitalization of the federal system calls for vigorous and effective local government. The situation, of course, has changed greatly since the National Municipal League adopted its first model municipal home-rule charter in the 90's. But the philosophy behind that charter is still good.

During the depression of the 30's the relief programs of the federal government in many cases by-passed the state and established direct contact with the municipality. There were political as well as practical reasons for this policy. It was unfortunate in that it tended to discredit the states as significant elements in our system of government, but perhaps the states had it coming to them, for they were unready and impotent in the hour of need. The *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League is in my judgment of the highest significance. It blazed the way with its proposal for a single-house legislature and in its recommendations regarding more responsible legislative leadership and better working relations between the executive and the legislative. How much grief might we be avoiding in Washington today if some of these recommendations had been adopted by the federal government 25 years ago.

I recognize that the life of a congressman is not all beer and skittles and have a great deal of sympathy with Senator Fulbright who, in a recent number of the *New York Times,* again recounts the difficulties of the office and the weird burdens that a congressman's constituents put on him. He tells us again with truth that the legislature is only as strong as the people who elect it and that congressmen are representative of the people as a whole—some are excellent and some are poor, just as other people are. Their rule is seldom

glorious, he writes, and the most conscientious and useful congressmen rarely receive the approval of the press or the public at large.

Congress Ineffective

The specifications of an ideal member of Congress are as contradictory and impossible as those for the job of a college president. But this does not excuse the fact that during the past 25 years of expanding government Congress has done nothing significant to improve its position either as a competent body initiating legislation or reviewing proposals by the executive, or as an effective control agency over an increasingly gigantic executive organization. Naturally there has been a tremendous increase in both the administrative and legislative powers of the executive department, but Congress has developed no effective control and seems to be content with pot shots at the administration.

The recent reorganization measure is a step in the right direction, but a feeble one. If Congress cannot establish itself in a position in which it can act effectively as the chosen arm of the people for enforcing their will over both legislative and administrative policy there is no alternative but ultimate rule by a bureaucratic oligarchy.

Let us consider finally the relation of the voter to the expert in government. The correct philosophy governing this relationship has been expressed for years by the National Municipal League in connection with the city manager form of government, which it has consistently and successfully advocated. Today is the day of the expert and the specialist, although I hope that we are beginning to learn that the expert and the specialist alone will not save us. Nevertheless, the jack-of-all-trades in administrative posts, appropriate to a simple economy, has become an anachronism. Government by experts is slowly becoming the modern substitute for government by the gentry which prevailed in the United States until the era of Andrew Jackson. By Jackson's time the rank and file of the people had come to distrust the gentry as a responsible or responsive governing class and to prefer the amateur, because they wanted their own sort in government whom they felt they could trust. Instead of government by the elite doing what was good for the people, the people preferred a government that would do what they wanted done.

It is still the essence of democracy that officials, no matter how expert and well qualified they are, shall do what the people want, not what they think is good for them. But the time has come when experts rather than amateurs are necessary to accomplish what the people want. Yet we haven't worked out the proper relationship and responsibility of the expert to the legislature and the people.

Much of the theoretical case for collectivism rests upon the assumption that experts working in the name of science will be able to perform miracles, but this form of "mother knows best" political philosophy does not belong in a democratic system. The reconciliation of ex-

pertism and democracy in government, which will get us the services we require from the expert without elevating him to an oligarch, remains to be achieved. An expert is no more trustworthy than anyone else when it comes to making broad basic decisions which alone can be made by the voters in a democracy. I repeat that this reconciliation has never been more satisfactorily set forth than in the city manager plan.

But finally, fundamental to all the foregoing discussion is the need for a clear philosophy as to the nature of the state and the optimum scope of government. For a number of years the hallmark of a progressive has seemed to be that he is one who relies on the increased power of officials to improve the conditions of men. The tendency has been to solve our problems by giving officials more power over more and more of the activities of men. Always there is present the assumption that this control will be wise and altruistic, a fundamental psychological error into which experts are apt to fall.

How Hold Democracy?

If we want to keep our government democratic, and to me this is of more importance than any other consideration, we must, I repeat, be careful to hold it within the understanding and control of the voters. When deciding how much or how little government is good for us it is well to remember that while the government is something more than a policeman it is something less than a disinterested philanthropist.

The state is set apart from all other forms of human association by the fact that it is the sole agency which has the right to use force to execute its will. The state tends to be intolerant in any area which it considers important to itself. Most governments today are tolerant in respect to religion. But in by-gone days when the state considered religion important to itself, it was highly intolerant.

The state will never encourage, indeed it will deny so far as it can, the spirit of inquiry when its own success is threatened. The fact that the state has a legal and moral monopoly on force colors all that its officials do. Since the state is force incarnate it is essential that the structure and functioning of its government be under the sensitive control of the electorate always.

We should be careful not to overpoliticalize our society. We can be free only if large areas of life remain open to voluntary and private action and decision. We shall not preserve our freedom by transferring to government responsibilities and decisions which we ought to be making as private citizens.

Here is revealed the importance of voluntary civic associations of all sorts. Here lurks the reason why such agencies as the Governmental Research Association, the National Association of Civic Secretaries, and the Proportional Representation League are so indispensable. As private individuals we are under a joint compulsion with government to provide the basis of the good life on which our nation can build.

I don't think that it is too much

(Continued on page 58)

The Shame of the Cities - 1946

Not graft and corruption, not boss rule, but lazy citizens, lack of city pride, failure to plan termed principal failure.

By LUTHER GULICK*

IT WAS over 40 years ago that Lincoln Steffens made America wince with shame with this title, though his conclusions in 1904 are quite different from ours today.

We all remember Steffens' story. On behalf of *McClure's Magazine* he went to a half dozen leading American cities in which criminal prosecutions had disclosed the structure, the methods and the politics of municipal corruption. He circulated among politicians and civic leaders, grafters and their victims and pieced together and published nationally what no local paper would have dared print: the story of rottenness, spiced with the details of names, amounts of bribes, photostats of graft records, and striking quotations of venal and cynical remarks by the righteous and by the sinners.

Even today the Steffens' articles are good reading as he unfolds the raw story of boodle over franchises in St. Louis; the slimy record of police and vice in Minneapolis and a citizenry in chains and ashamed; the crooked, systematic "big business" ring of Pittsburgh; the struggle which had made Chicago "half free" and was giving New York a temporary spell of "good government."

Do you remember Steffens' characterization of Philadelphia? He was worked up over the generosity of the ring in giving its members priceless franchises for nothing, he was enraged by the organized vice system, universal political assessments on all employees and the purchase of appointment through politics, machine control of city contracts, and speculation by politicians with unsecured bank loans. But there were two things in Philadelphia that burned him up:

(1) A political machine working from the state down, in league with if not controlled by big and corrupt business, which completely disfranchised the voters with the aid of a one-party system, and the elimination of all opposition including the press, and, at the same time,

(2) A fine American population, with above average education, home ownership, culture and traditions, doing little and caring less about their loss of liberty, their abdication to the local and state Republican rings.

He summed it all up in the phrase: "Philadelphia—corrupt and contented."

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Times have changed since then. But still we fight the old fights over and over again, though they come up in new guises and challenge the good citizen in new ways from decade to decade.

There isn't time to call the roll of shame today but here are some recent examples as a background for observations on the problem ahead.

Today's Roll

Boston. Within the year the mayor of Boston was sentenced to 67 years in prison and assessed fines of $16,000, not for a lifetime of low political morality but for his part in a $60,000 mail fraud in connection with crooked promises to land government war contracts while he was also a member of Congress. Thus a man who began his political career under the shadow of prison bars will write his memoirs in quiet confinement. There is plenty to think about in Boston. *Commonweal,* the Catholic journal, blames the Catholic voters and leaders of Boston for the system which made Curley possible. It points out that "church attendance, reception of the sacraments and a good family life" are not enough, and that a communion which dominates the politics of a city for three generations must develop "social conscience" and encourage free citizens rather than "docility and lack of responsibility in shepherded flocks" if it is to escape responsibility for a political condition which may become like that of Spain, Italy and Mexico.

Memphis. Examine the recent Tennessee commemorative postage stamp, with its portraits of Andrew Jackson and John Sevier, hold it to the light and look for the watermark. You should see Mr. E. H. Crump, undisputed head of the not-so-invisible government of Tennessee. And on the face of the stamp, after the "3," note the superimposed initials "CI," standing, I believe, for "Crump Imperator." As *Time* said some months ago, "Tennessee's governor is a Crumpet; so is U.S. Senator Tom Stewart. Sick old spoilsman Kenneth McKeller is beholden to Mr. Crump. West Tennessee congressmen are his to command. He sways the state legislature. And in Memphis and Shelby County politicians move like automatons at his bidding—running daily to his office for instructions."

How is it done in Tennessee? It is done by "ruthless rawhiding, ramrodding" control of elections, physical violence by the police, and before one election such incidents as the arrest of every reporter in sight on charges of "threatened breach of the peace," or traffic tickets for funeral processions directed at a recalcitrant undertaker. In 1940 a Memphis druggist who supported Willkie had all his customers searched on the spot by police for "narcotics."

Crump may not have stolen a nickel through common political graft, as it is said he boasts; he has stolen something much more valuable. It is freedom and the right to vote for candidates of one's own choosing. One should mention that Mr. Crump is in the insurance business, and that his business is very very good. For some reason that is hard to explain, businessmen, merchants, utilities and

manufacturers just thrust their business on him without any thought of any protection except from fire or other insurable casualty.

Prophesy on Chicago

Chicago. In the early 30's Lincoln Steffens said "watch Chicago" because Chicago is going to give good government "without disturbing the roots of privilege." This was to be accomplished, he said, by the election of "bad men," "who are experienced and powerful in the underranks of politics and privileged business" in which he included vice, gambling and many other shakedown operations. Was he right? The record speaks for itself. And there have been gang murders again in Chicago, though not as many as before; there have been unrivalled manipulations of assessments and of special assessments, brought to light through court actions, and the open "pedipulation" of the civil service system. Still the Chicago brand of conspicuous public service and inconspicuous special privilege has won election after election, up to November 1946, without benefit of clergy.

Atlantic City. Notice how human and friendly most top city corruptionists are. Generosity is a precious jewel in a setting of high social and political crime. When the court sent Nockey Johnson up for ten years for not reporting what the *World-Telegram* referred to as his "fabulous income from the numbers racket," the court observed, "I am satisfied from the evidence that Johnson has made large expenditures and helped many people. I am also satisfied that he has done that for selfish motives, to perpetuate himself in power out of funds which cost him nothing."

Waterbury. A sweet smelling ring was turned up in Waterbury a few years ago in which the mayor, the city comptroller, the corporation council, the superintendent of streets, the purchasing agent, the city assessor, the Democratic town chairman, a local banker, two contractors, a tavern keeper who was paid to endorse fraudulent checks, a half dozen lawyers and lobbyists, the city accountant and a firm of not-so-independent outside auditors all worked together for seven years to defraud one little city of about $1,000,000. This "sindicate" was organized by the banker and the sourest note was struck by the contractors who didn't do the work for which they and others were paid.

Albany. Of all the graft today there is none that cuts so deep in America as that which surrounds the lower courts and legal services involved in bankruptcies, the administration of wills and other assigned legal duties. New York State specializes in this. The state and local bar associations must bear part of the responsibility for this evil system because professional bodies are responsible for their own code of ethics. Even so, many a boss is the county judge, north, south and west; many a judge gains his post through the boss and confers with the boss on cases in which he is interested. Thus lawless fees are collected legally, justice is bought legally, indictments are quashed legally, political dicta-

torships are financed legally, and the people are not only robbed of their freedom legally, but with dignity and ceremony.

Do you remember this Albany telephone conversation?

The Judge: Hello, Dan?

The Boss: How are you my boy?

The Judge: Oh I have been having a hell of a time. . . We have had that case before our court.

The Boss: Hmh'm. . . .

The Judge: I would have had three votes tonight except your little boy . . . even when I got him in his own room and tried to pin him down he wouldn't go with me.

The Boss: You got to be careful with the phones.

The Judge: Yes, I know. So I told him to put it over till tomorrow and I'll do the best I can. . . The only thing I thought if you wanted to do it —but I don't think it would do a damned bit of good—I thought you might call Whalen and I could get this young fellow to see Whalen tomorrow morning before we make any—

The Boss: He might get some law down there.

That boss was Dan O'Connell of Albany, Whalen is an O'Connell lawyer, and the judge was the late Justice Schenck, who was censored but not impeached by the New York Assembly at its last session.

How many other judges are being sent to the personal lawyers of how many political bosses "to get the law" in New York State? In Pennsylvania? In other states?

Philadelphia. Philadelphians, I should think, would like to try a little adult liberty in their own government. Must liberty in Philadelphia be always in the cradle? It is true that the dictatorship of the Vares is gone, but its citizens seem to be still contented with a low-grade city and a low-grade government.

When one sees what Philadelphia needs for the future, and what it can have, it becomes obvious it is paying too much for its civic indifference, its political oligarchy, its antiquated charter, its pervasive spoils system with its assessments and the petty corruption that always runs through an irresponsible, long entrenched machine.

Giving the Devil His Due

Steffens said some hard things about the political boss, as have I on the basis of the record. But I want to point out to the reformers that the boss performs some extraordinarily important governmental functions at the same time that he is building his machine and collecting his graft.

The boss generally gives central direction to a ramshackle city and county charter and political structure and makes it work as a coordinated enterprise in spite of its many independent boards, officers and bureaus. He establishes and maintains discipline.

The boss gives continuity to the government in spite of the changing flow of often incompetent and inexpert men who occupy official posts.

The boss regulates corruption, holding it down to tolerable limits most of the time.

The boss relieves all busy citizens of the need of devoting their precious time to civic affairs. He runs their

government for them, and at a price which he determines. Large-scale democracy presupposes the existence of political parties. When other leadership defaults, it is the boss who keeps one party, and sometimes two parties, going.

The boss's machine, especially the ward organization, helps the bewildered man or woman in trouble find the public service, be it welfare, legal aid, insurance or health service, which he may need in time of accident or emergency.

Keeping the Voters Happy

The boss makes government more human and "warmer"—a service of real importance in view of all the technical experts we now employ, each with his own professional vocabulary and his elaborate forms and standards, all of which baffles the ordinary human.

The boss is a good entertainer; he keeps the town happy.

Finally the boss does what the people want, not what the laws provide. This involves (1) the direction of the whole system of non-enforcement of laws which fail to command substantially unanimous local approval, like the vice, gambling and liquor laws; and (2) the management of special privileges arising under the laws relating especially to streets, buildings, and health, fire and police regulations.

We Americans are great people for striking a moral pose in our legislation, and then remedying extreme and premature provisions by nullification or mitigation. The man who manages the nullification and administers the mitigation is the political boss. His quality of mercy is not strained because he charges the recipients. It is a dangerous occupation, but well paid.

I said the boss does what the people want. That is true in the long run, though the run is sometimes pretty long. Bosses are held responsible to their electorates, under the American system, indirectly. It is like parliamentary government. The boss and his machine pick the candidates; if they lose and lose and lose, the boss is finished. The vote is very indirect. The boss makes every effort to select pliable but popular candidates, to guarantee a favorable vote by every means, fair or foul, to buy out the opposition, coerce the free press, and to produce through the election the end sought. Such elections are not the voice of the free people coming up to guide their government, they are the echo of the voice of the boss coming back from the people. Still the election machinery is our only final defense against the skillful corruptionist and, in the long run, produces results.

There is one thing more to be said for the boss: every boss I have known was an unusual man—outgoing, dynamic, decisive, generous, loyal to his friends, thoroughly dependable, informed, inventive, well coordinated and eager to do what the people really want. This desire for popular approval is so strong that any city boss will do anything a city really wants. Why he will even give good government when the demand is there!

When we rise up to destroy a boss

and the boss system, let's check over the needed services now performed to make certain that our new civic machinery makes adequate provisions for the things that have to be performed.

Bosses, Corruption and Progress

Have we made any progress in all these years of reform and research, of extension of the suffrage and expanded education? It would be a rash man indeed who tried to give a comprehensive answer in a few minutes, but I do wish to make a number of observations as to the areas in which we have moved forward, and to recognize the areas in which we have lost ground. First as to the progress:

1. There is now less direct thievery, less cash taken right out of the till; in fact, less in government than in private business. This is the direct result of better government accounting systems and better auditing systems, both of which were almost unknown in Steffens' time.

2. There is now less mugging, kidnapping and political murder. This we owe to national publicity, the general elevation of standards and a better F.B.I.

3. There is less direct vote fraud. This we owe to voting machines, national publicity, formal primaries and the reduction of "one party political systems" in what were once 99 per cent Republican or 99 per cent Democratic cities and states.

4. There is now less franchise boodling and sale of rights to use city streets, water front, parks, etc., though this advance in morality seems to arise from the fact that the rights were all sold long ago and that the franchise purchasers are mostly bankrupt, having turned their properties over to the cities now because of the effect of 50 years of inflation on the value of the nickel.

5. There is less raw sweeping patronage than in 1903, though the assessment system is perhaps more highly developed now. I credit this change more to the "tenure system," that is, to permanent appointments, than to the merit system, though the two often go hand in hand and civil service has made its contribution.

6. We have fewer sudden, hidden, crooked deals now because we have much more publicity and control over budget, debt and ordinance procedures, more clearly fixed responsibilities, a short ballot in some cities, and more professional officials and employees in local government and on the staffs of civic organizations. An important step forward is the professionalization and nationalization of these public servants.

7. There is less municipal jobbery in the state legislature by men who have no local responsibility, especially in those states where the legislature is largely debarred from dealing with local questions and these are turned over to home rule.

8. Our city voters are vastly better educated, more literate, better informed, and more American than they were 40 years ago. In this process our "taste" for governmental service has risen. Our people expect higher levels of performance all along the line, and even politicians are now ashamed of being caught negotiating a crooked

contract or cheating on civil service examinations, though Boston gave Curley his greatest ovation in 1946 after his conviction on a war contract fraud. But a man is disgraced today for acts that were "smart politics" in Steffens' time.

Where We Have Failed

Against these eight points of unmistakable improvement we must in candor list six points of retrogression.

1. Government is much harder to supervise now than it was 40 years ago. It is more technical. It requires more professionals, has less room for rotation in office of ordinary citizens, and is thus more in danger of senile bureaucracy.

2. Government does more, spends more, and regulates more now than ever before. At every turn there is danger of more rake-off, and more special privilege than before. Our exposure to graft is greatly increased.

3. There is a vast expansion of legal graft arising from the enforcement of regulations and appeals therefrom, from court administration —bankruptcies, foreclosures and estates. So too there is a rising tide of corrupt practice in the many services performed by private lawyers, accountants, architects and engineers for private clients who, in the guise of defending their rights, seek special privileges of governmental administrative and judicial agencies. This is the great new area of American graft, presenting a challenge which goes directly to the heart of our noble professions and to the higher educational institutions of the country.

4. Another important change for the bad is the artificial constriction of city government boundaries, which has prevented the growth of city lines to cover the whole political, human and economic area of the urban region involved. This artificial restriction of boundaries has left the city with all the slums and none of the suburbs, with a geographic area too small to tackle the growing urban problems, and with a removal to the suburbs of most of the natural civic leadership of the area.

5. While the radio has expanded the opportunity for civic enlightenment, it is still the independent and fearless newspaper that exercises local civic leadership. It is tragic that as to newspapers we are worse off today than we were 40 years ago. There are fewer independent local newspapers, and fewer crusaders running them.

6. Finally, there has been conspicuous failure to modernize American civic morality during the past two generations. Our world has moved so far and so fast in family life, in community life, in work relations, in economic affairs, in international affairs, that the standards of personal behavior which we call morality and the relationships we call religion have had a hard time to keep up with events. We would be remiss not to record the lack of progress in 40 years in America in developing higher standards of civic virtue and wider dissemination of such morality through our expanding system of free public education. America seems to be a nation not only adrift as to its moral standards, trying to navigate with obsolete

charts, but more adrift now than 40 years ago.

Thus we have made important procedural advances in restricting and controlling the shame of the cities, we have improved our standards of taste, but we have gained no ground in the fundamental moral standards and patterns of behavior.

Graft and corruption and the dominance of bosses are not the shame of the cities today as they were 40 years ago. The shame of the American city today is found in three things: first, lazy citizenship with low standards; second, lack of city pride; and third, failure to look ahead and make great plans for the future.

A Sordid Picture

Our cities today are full of dirt, slums and traffic congestion. Every city has its blighted central districts where offices, factories, tenements, streets, parks and transport facilities are in various stages of obsolescence. Why don't we do something really effective about these conditions?

Though we have failed to catch up with the antomobile, we are already confronted by the age of air. Beyond a little wrangling over airports for the commercial lines what are we doing about it?

We face a generation of increasing individual leisure with a fairly short work day and week. Where are the recreational and educational activities to make the most of these new opportunities?

We have pretty well abolished child labor in the cities, but where are the youth activities to make this freedom of youth a constructive experience rather than a temptation to delinquency?

We have new technical knowledge, new mastery of steel and glass and plastics, of power air conditioning and light; we have men who can think buildings in terms of life and communities in terms of practical human ideals. Why don't we really harness this knowledge and technical competence and write our city plans in the minds and hearts of the people?

Why do we fail to make the modern city a center of pride to mankind and a source of inspired and enobled living? With all their failures the cities of the ancient world and the cities of the Middle Ages did not fail at this point.

Our shame is urban mediocrity without revolt; filth, slums, decay and traffic snarls without action; private preoccupation and lazy contentment without compelling civic loyalties or great civic dreams.

They Want to Be Good Citizens

Public opinion expert holds that political chicanery, apathy and failure of schools thwart effective citizenship.

By GEORGE H. GALLUP*

THE quality of government, be it national or local, depends largely on the active interest of the entire electorate in elections. Every student of government has recognized this fact and has noted with concern the large number of citizens who stay at home on election day.

I, for one, have no easy solution to this problem. Nevertheless, some good is bound to come from a careful and realistic analysis of non-participation in recent national elections. If we can discover why so many Americans are uninterested in national elections, we shall have gone a long way toward finding out why they are uninterested in local elections.

The first and most important fact we must face is that here in the greatest democracy in the world, with the best educated electorate, the proportion of citizens who take the trouble to vote is lower than in any other real democracy. Fewer Americans exercise their basic right to vote for candidates and parties of their choice than do citizens of any other nation where there is anything approximating stable government.

The mere act of voting, of course, solves nothing. In Fascist and Communist nations virtually everyone who is not bed-ridden must vote or suffer the consequences. That 90 per cent of all persons over 21 years of age go to the polls, and that 95 per cent of these vote "yes" for the dictator, means nothing except that the secret police have done a good job.

Furthermore, I am not so sure that the solution of this problem in democracies is a law which compels persons to vote. In Australia and in Belgium persons who fail to vote are subject to fines.

Ideally, the citizens of a democracy should be sufficiently interested to go to the polls of their own free accord. Unfortunately, in America many persons have no such interest.

As of July 1 of 1946, the United States Bureau of the Census estimated that 91,634,472 persons were 21 years of age or older. In the national election on November 5 only 35,000,000 bothered to go to the polls. Even if we go back to the presidential election of 1944, the total number of votes cast—48,000,000—still reveals an appalling lack of interest in national affairs.

By contrast, in the last general election in England voting participation was 50 per cent greater than in this country; twice as great as in our November election.

In the national referendum in Italy last summer, two and one-half

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times as many persons voted, in proportion to population, as in our last presidential election and nearly four times as many as in our recent election.

In Canada's last national election, one-third more of its citizens voted than in our last presidential election, and nearly twice as many as in our national election of 1946.

On November 10 the people of France went to the polls a fourth time during a single year. Half of the entire population voted. If as many persons had voted the same month in this country the total vote would have reached 70,000,000.

Even when the south—with its one-party system and poll tax laws—is entirely excluded from computations, voting participation of the remainder of the United States fails to reach the level of our sister democracies.

What is perhaps even more startling and depressing is that a lower percentage of eligible voters has taken the trouble to vote in this country in recent elections than in elections 50 years ago. Even in the pioneering days of the country, one hundred years ago—with the problem of getting to the polls far more difficult—the proportion of eligible voters who voted was greater than today. Evidently the early pioneers prized the right to vote more than present-day citizens.

A dozen different factors probably contribute to the general lack of interest in our elections. Two things, I believe, are chiefly responsible.

The first is that our schools and colleges fail to give students even a rudimentary knowledge of the workings of their government and they fail to arouse interest in the affairs of national or local government.

Millions of political ignoramuses are graduated from our high schools and colleges each year. Nearly half our population over 21 years of age has had at least some high school or college training. Even if voting were limited to this group, and all these persons voted, the actual number of votes cast in November would have been many millions higher than it was.

Ignorant College Students

The truth is that any student can graduate from virtually any college in the country today and not have even a basic knowledge of the structure of our government.

You can graduate from college—and many do—without knowing that we have national elections every two years. In January of this year, only 31 per cent of all voters knew that elections were going to be held this November for Congress. One-third of all citizens who have had the advantage of a college training do not know the number of years for which a representative is elected.

Only four out of ten persons who have gone to college can name the number of justices of the United States Supreme Court.

College graduates are better informed than others of course. But when one considers that the voters of this nation have more schooling than the citizens of any other nation, one might reasonably expect to find a better informed voting public.

In the 1944 election the newspapers devoted literally hundreds of columns

of space to the selection of vice presidential candidates and later gave page after page to the campaign itself. At the end of this campaign only two-thirds of the voters could name the vice presidential candidate on the Republican ticket and slightly fewer than this could name the vice presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket. Even in January 1945, two months after the election, only 68 per cent of all voters could name the man who was elected vice president of the country—*the man who is now our president!*

Only four voters in ten can name both senators from their own state; only half of all voters can give the name of their representative in Congress.

I hesitate to place all the blame for this abysmal lack of information upon the schools and colleges. And yet something must be seriously wrong with a form of education which permits this situation to exist. Surely the schools should give students a better knowledge of their government and of national affairs, or, at the very least, they should arouse in students a desire to know about their government and the men who run it.

Glenn Frank once said that most editors tend to overestimate the information of their readers and to underestimate their intelligence. My own experience of the last eleven years, during which time my organization has interviewed millions of Americans, has thoroughly convinced me that this observation applies to voters as well as to readers.

That the public isn't always well informed should not obscure for one moment the obvious truth that people possess a quality of good common sense which leads them usually to the right conclusion. Few will disagree, however, that a better informed electorate is almost certainly a guarantee of better government.

Political Antics

The second important reason for the low interest in elections and in politics generally in this country is the incredibly low plane on which most of our campaigns are fought.

The typical candidate for office—local and national—thinks he has to go through a sort of ritual as unvarying as an Indian snake dance.

Down through the haze of the political past has come a fixed pattern of behavior for all candidates—a kind of political voodooism—which must be followed by anyone who wants to get elected. The political mores require that all candidates take leave of their good manners, their sense of fairness and their intelligence, put on a devil's mask, run up and down the countryside beating tom-toms and uttering sheer nonsense.

Everyone is familiar with the ritual. Call your opponents liars and thieves. If they happen to be in office, blame every known ill on them. If this proves difficult, then blame the president. Blame Hoover for depression and crop failures. Blame Roosevelt. Blame Truman for high prices, housing shortages, low prices or whatever is best calculated to "get" the voter.

After you have disposed of your opponents as thoroughly reprehensible citizens whose venality is matched

only by their stupidity, start to bribe every small minority group with promises. Offer the veterans bigger bonuses; the laboring man, higher wages; teachers, higher salaries; farmers, higher prices; taxpayers, lower rates. Don't overlook even the smallest group. Appeal to their self-interest even if it is only a matter of a new post office or a new paved road.

The last act in the ritual is equally sacred. Always end the campaign by making boastful claims that you are going to whip the daylights out of your opponents. That is supposed to get the rest of the dolts whose only interest is riding the bandwagon of the winner.

Theory All Wrong

The theory behind all this hocus-pocus must be that the voting public is made up solely of boobs who have to be paid off in money or promises of one kind or another or they won't vote for you.

Is there any wonder that the public sickens and turns its head away at the very thought of politics? Is there any wonder that a high percentage of American parents would rather see their children work as street sweepers than besmirch themselves in politics?

If the typical politician's estimate of the common sense and the fairness of the American voter were sound, I would long since have left the field of public opinion to the politicians.

But everything I have learned in eleven years of polling disproves this low estimate of the American public. The people may not always be well informed but they do have a quality of sound judgment—call it "horse sense" if you will—which makes a democracy work despite all of its handicaps.

If my experience of the last eleven years has taught me anything it is that practically every theory on how to get elected to public office is wrong. All of the snake dancing which politicians think they must perform during election campaigns is not only useless but probably loses more votes than it wins.

The most obvious fact of all is that people are influenced to a far greater extent by actions and events than by words. Virtually all elections are won or lost before a single word has been uttered in a campaign. Or, to say this in another way: Nine times in ten, election results would be no different if the candidates stayed home, saved their money, their time, their voices and their self-respect.

I do not claim that acting as a gentleman will elect a candidate, but I do firmly believe that such behavior will not lose him any votes and almost always will win him votes.

One of the amazing results of last November's election was the large vote given Senator Vandenberg in Michigan. Senator Vandenberg didn't even go back to campaign and, so far as I know, made no speeches whatsoever attacking his opponent and none beating the tom-toms for himself or his party.

Another campaign can be cited—this one going back ten years—in which the candidate refused, even under the greatest pressure from her party, to damn her opponent, to peddle hokum, or to utter a single word that wasn't constructive, a

single word that might not have been said at any time in any circle. The result was inevitable. As the candidate for the office of secretary of state of Iowa this woman was elected and re-elected as long as she lived, each time with a larger majority—the last, one of the greatest ever given to any candidate for office in that state.

So it is hard for me to believe that candidates can't act like ordinary, decent and intelligent citizens and still be elected to high office. It will take a long time for many politicians to discover this fact—it will have to be demonstrated time after time—but when they do the whole atmosphere of American politics will be cleansed and made wholesome.

The Non-voter

Now, what about the person who says he doesn't vote because elections offer only a choice between tweedledee and tweedledum. Or the person who says, "What difference does it make which party goes into power? They're both the same."

On occasion this seems true, although more often it is merely rationalization and an indication that the voter hasn't interested himself enough in the election to know what differences really do exist.

As a partial answer to this particular reason for not voting, and as a solution to another serious problem in our peculiar form of democracy, I propose that in every election voters be permitted to record their views on important issues in the form of an advisory referendum.

Some of the greatest errors have come about through the attempt to read into the election returns on candidates the will of the people on issues. Hoover, for example, thought the great majority he received in 1928 constituted a mandate to continue prohibition. If voters who went to the polls that year had had an opportunity to express their views not only on Mr. Hoover versus Mr. Smith but also on the question of modifying or repealing the eighteenth amendment it is certain a majority would have voted for modification or repeal of the prohibition act. Mr. Harding decided after the 1920 election, wholly without evidence, that the people were against the League of Nations, although every fact I can find points to the opposite conclusion. Mr. Roosevelt in 1936 thought the election gave him a mandate to circumvent the powers of the Supreme Court, although every poll showed exactly the contrary.

Senator Wayne Morse is reported to have said not long ago that last November's election gave the Republicans no mandate to change the labor laws. Other senators say that it did. And so the argument goes.

But if every citizen who went to the polls had had the chance to record his views on this issue, and on a dozen others, there would be no mistaking the will of the people—even if the results were accepted only as a guide to Congress and not binding. This plan is already in effect to a degree in Massachusetts.

The American people would take a far greater interest in elections if they could make their views known on important and controversial ques-

tions because the public is more interested in issues than in candidates.

We must learn to think of government as a living, growing institution which should be modified and improved to meet demands of a larger and more highly organized society.

During the war we mobilized the public to produce a volume of goods which amazed the world. We learned that we can work wonders if we have the will to, and if we have the courage to thrust aside old forms and old habits of thinking.

Let the Citizens Serve

As I tried to point out at the League's last national convention,[1] this country has never yet, in its efforts to solve its greatest problems, brought to bear its greatest resource —the brains of our people.

Even during the war, with all of our amazing achievements in producing war goods, there were still millions of able and willing people whose brains and talents were never utilized in the service of the nation.

Today there are fifty million people who say they would be willing to serve, without pay, on committees made up of private citizens, the purpose of which would be to study current problems in their own communities such as housing, strikes, health, juvenile delinquency, unemployment, education. Seven out of every ten of the leading men of the nation say they would gladly take time to help solve these problems in their communities.

Even though the pattern has never been set for the functioning of such committees they have sprung up spontaneously in some communities to meet local problems. And it is my opinion, with which I believe many will concur, that most of these great problems can be solved better at the local than at the national level.

In Toledo, for example, a committee of citizens undertook to settle labor disputes in that city. The success they achieved prompted the people of Louisville to organize a labor-management committee modeled on the Toledo plan.

There are millions of people ready and eager to go to work today on our most urgent problems. If we send this army of citizens into action we can achieve more in the next five years than we have in the last fifty in improving the lot of our people.

We have to work out a pattern to use the time and abilities of these millions who are eager to go to work in the thousands of communities on the important problems of this day.

God blessed this nation with great natural resources. He blessed it with a people who have a tremendous urge to help their fellow man. He blessed them with intelligence. Has the time not come when we should discover ways to make use of this greatest of all our resources—the brains of our people?

[1] See "Drafting the Nation's Brain Power," the REVIEW, January 1942, page 11.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Hartford Votes Manager Plan 2 to 1

Citizen Group Defeats Two-party Opposition

WHEN the Connecticut legislature meets in January it is expected to ratify the action of Hartford's voters who set something of a precedent on December 3 when they voted better than two to one for a council-manager charter.

Long-standing custom in Connecticut has been for the legislature first to pass a charter and then perhaps submit it to the people of the city for their approval. Hartford reversed the process. A special commission appointed in 1945 by Mayor William H. Mortensen held public hearings, retained Dr. Thomas H. Reed, municipal government counselor of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, to aid in drafting a charter, held more hearings, and then, after certain revisions, submitted their final draft. This draft was to have been voted upon at the same time as the state elections, November 5, but the Board of Aldermen rescinded this part of their original resolution and delayed the referendum to December 3 at a special election.

Over the combined opposition of the two major political parties, who came out openly against the charter after the state and national elections of November 5, the supporters of the new charter carried all of the city's 39 precincts but three. The vote was 21,089 for to 9,748 against. About 3,000 other persons disqualified their vote by errors in the use of the voting machines. A total of 34,000 electors participated; normally 45,000 to 50,000 vote in mayoralty elections.

Mr. Mortensen, who did not seek reelection in 1945, was honorary chairman of the Citizens' Charter Committee which spearheaded the fight for the new charter. Three other former mayors joined him in the fight. In opposition there appeared the "Second Charter Oak Committee," a title reminiscent of the story of how Captain Wadworth hid the Connecticut colonial charter in the Charter Oak in 1686. Under this banner speakers from both parties campaigned and warned the voters "don't be managed." On the day of the referendum the opponents complained of not having workers because they could not pay them; the proponents had the services of many volunteers, conducted a telephone drive, and brought out the vote. Both of Hartford's daily newspapers backed the new charter aggressively.

LESLIE M. GRAVLIN, *Director*
Hartford Governmental
Research Institute

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The votes for council-manager charters in Hartford, Connecticut, on December 3 and Paris, Tennessee, on November 20 (see below) bring the number of manager adoptions reported in these columns during 1946 to 81. These figures include three Canadian cities—Quebec, St. Jerome and Val d'Or, all in the province of Quebec—where the plan was adopted previous to 1946 but not reported. They also include four cities—Winter Park, Florida; Gaffney, South Carolina; Falls Church, Virginia; and Fremont, Michigan—which have not been placed on the official council-manager list of the International City Managers Association because of their curtailment of the

responsibilities of the manager. The ICMA now recognizes 724 places in the world as having the standard council-manager form of government, of which 686 (nine of them counties) are in the United States.

Paris, Tennessee, voted for a council-manager form of government at a special election on November 20 by a vote of 307 to 93. The proposal was backed by the Veterans Better Government League. A special election of commissioners was provided for December 17.

A council-manager charter for **Augusta, Georgia,** prepared by the legislative delegation from that city, with the help of Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, for the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League, is to be submitted to the next legislature and, when legalized, to popular referendum in Augusta.

The mayor and council of **Carrollton, Missouri,** have appointed a Civic Planning Committee under which, in turn, there is now a four-man committee to study types of city government and to make recommendations for Carrollton, which is now under a century-old special charter. Both the manager plan and the third-class city form under Missouri law will be investigated as possible substitutes.

In **Poplar Bluff, Missouri,** the Chamber of Commerce has voted unanimously to ask the city council to submit a council-manager proposal to the voters early in 1947.

In **Kansas City, Kansas,** with the announcement that Mayor McCombs, after twenty years in office, declines to run again, the *Kansan* is urging adoption of the manager plan. Considerable interest in the plan is being shown, particularly by veterans.

The **Leavenworth, Kansas,** Civic League, recently organized, has held an open forum attended by nearly 500, at which the council-manager plan was sympathetically discussed.

The Public Affairs committee of the **Larned, Kansas,** Kiwanis Club is making a study of the manager plan and its advantages for that city.

A proposed manager charter amendment for **Bellingham, Washington,** has been attacked by the former city comptroller as having a defective clause for blanket repeal of conflicting ordinances and charter provisions.

Adoption of the council-manager plan has been recommended for **Clinton, Iowa,** by the Citizens' Municipal Finance Committee, appointed some time ago by the mayor (see also page 52).

Grafton, West Virginia, will vote on a proposed new charter providing for the council-manager plan on January 21.

The charter revision group recently formed in **Toledo, Ohio,** to consider possible changes in the existing council-manager-P.R. charter, as a result of a meeting called by the CIO-PAC, has chosen as its permanent chairman A. G. Spieker, local contractor and chairman of the Toledo Metropolitan Housing Authority. A blanket invitation to organizations and individuals to submit proposed charter changes has been issued. The CIO-PAC is reported to favor the election of a mayor and a nine-man council at large, while the Toledo Central Labor Union has proposed the election of a mayor and of a council consisting of a member from each of nine districts.

The **Minneapolis** Charter Commission has resolved to proceed at once to draft a new charter to provide more definite administrative responsibility, and to submit it to the voters at the earliest possible date. It declined to commit itself at present to the council-manager, the mayor-council or the commission form.

A committee of ten residents of **Portsmouth, New Hampshire,** to formulate plans for promoting the manager

plan for that city, was appointed in December by a special committee of the Chamber of Commerce.

In North Carolina the Junior Chambers of Commerce in **Raleigh** and **New Bern** are centers of interest in movements to obtain the council-manager plan. In New Bern the junior chamber has endorsed the plan with a council elected by districts, which would appoint the police chief as well as the manager.

The city council of **Anderson, South Carolina,** has voted to postpone a referendum on adoption of the manager plan. The *Anderson Independent,* stating that it, for one, means to keep the matter alive, points out that a majority of the aldermen were recorded in the recent campaign as favoring a referendum—but some did not specify when.

With the Illinois legislature meeting this month, the Illinois Council-Manager Conference is renewing its efforts to obtain legislation enabling **Illinois** cities to adopt manager government. An existing statute limits the plan to municipalities of 5,000 or under. Interest in the manager plan is evident in many places.

A vote on adoption of the manager plan is expected to be held in the spring in **Greeley, Colorado.**

The Chamber of Commerce of **Garden City, Michigan,** has recently resolved to sponsor charter revision to include the council-manager plan.

AMA Resolutions

The American Municipal Association at its 23rd annual conference in November adopted a series of resolutions which included the following subjects among others:

Urging Congress and the state legislatures to appraise the efficacy of existing federal-aid programs and initiate studies leading to the effective reallocation of revenue resources among the various levels of government to facilitate their financing of their own functions;

Protesting the proposed rules and regulations of the Civil Aeronautics Administration, the efforts of the states to control federal funds for local airports (see separate item) and urging the federal government to hasten the return of municipal airports that have been leased to federal departments;

Asking for extension of the federal Social Security Act to municipal employees;

Opposing mandatory state legislation benefiting special groups of employees;

Urging legislation to make municipal strikes unlawful (see separate item).

Minneapolis Redistricting Wins; Housing Authority Loses

The charter amendment for redrawing council district boundaries in Minneapolis was adopted at the November election by a vote of 110,737 to 48,954.

A proposal to establish a city housing authority which could accept federal grants and construct houses received 93,252 votes in favor to 71,916 against, but failed of adoption because a 60 per cent majority, amounting to 99,100, was required. It is planned to redraft the amendment for submission at a later date.

U. S. Cities Shun International Meetings

Lack of participation by American cities in various international congresses was editorially criticized by the *Kansas Government Journal* in its November issue. It was pointed out that there were five officials of U. S. cities at the International Congress of Cities at Paris in 1925, but none at Seville in 1929, London in 1932, or Berlin in 1936. Total representatives at these congresses ranged from 622 to 924. In

October 1946, at Hastings, England, meetings were held by both the International League of Municipalities and the International Housing and City Planning Congress. At the latter the U. S. delegation consisted of eight people—two federal government employees, one District of Columbia employee, two university professors, one representative of the American Society of Planning Officials, and the executive director of the League of Kansas Municipalities. The editorial said:

"There were no U.S. city officers in attendance; there were no up-to-date papers presented from the U.S.; and there was no exhibit worthy of the name from our broad country.

"There were a thousand delegates who were eager to look at, listen to, and study the experiences, methods and achievements of the housers and city planners of the U.S. These 1000 disappointments are no help to our billions invested in internationalism. Our lack of interest in what our neighbors are doing likewise is no help to us at home or abroad."

The executive director of the League of Kansas Municipalities, John G. Stutz, as vice president of the International League of Municipalities, also attended the Hastings meeting of that body and helped make plans for the seventh International Congress of Cities in Paris, June 8 to 14, 1947, at which a thousand city representatives from thirty or more countries are expected. The extent of participation by U.S. cities is problematical.

Mayors Meet This Month

At the annual convention of the U. S. Conference of mayors, to be held at the Hotel Statler in Washington January 20-22, subjects to be considered include housing, labor disputes, airports, municipal revenues, surplus property, veterans' problems, public health, etc.

Governors Seek More Control by States

Greater authority for the states as against local as well as federal government was urged at the meeting of the Council of State Governments in Miami, Florida, December 3 and 4. Need for more clarity as to federal-state relations was also stressed.

Resolutions adopted included one urging the states to insist on supervision of local airport construction under federal grants; one seeking clearer delineation of state and federal responsibility to veterans; and one for integration of employment service, recently returned to the states by the federal government, with the administration of unemployment insurance.

Another resolution directed the council's research staff to make a thorough investigation of all federal programs for grants in aid in order to improve their operation, foster uniformity and eliminate administrative confusion. Eight services now financed jointly by the states and the federal government, by grants, were noted with differing policies, programs and administrative methods.

Improvement of state legislative procedures was called for in a report proposing, in part, that the number of legislative committees be reduced and that provision be made for public hearings on all major legislation.

States Would Control Federal Airport Grants

A "model" bill prohibiting direct federal grants to municipalities for airports and requiring the channeling of all such grants through state agencies is proposed by the Council of State Governments and is expected to be urged by state governors upon many of the 44 state legislatures meet-

ing in 1947. Massachusetts and Wyoming have already adopted such a law. The proposal also would require any city to submit any project application under the Federal Airport Act to the state airport agency before sending it to the Administrator of Airports of the United States.

Such action is bitterly opposed by the American Municipal Association and various other city agencies and representatives. Efforts to require the channeling of federal airport funds through state agencies had failed when the Federal Airport Act was adopted. The AMA reports: "Municipal opposition to the state-sponsored channeling bill has already developed. The general observation is that the states, finding the front door closed, are trying to come in the back. The sponsors of this bill in a number of states can expect firm municipal resistance if the state government undertakes to control the federal-municipal airport projects without sharing in the costs of construction."

California Sixth State with Annual Legislative Sessions

A constitutional amendment providing that the legislature meet every year was adopted by California voters in November. According to the Council of State Governments legislatures in only five other states are scheduled to meet annually instead of biennially.

The California amendment provides for two kinds of annual legislative sessions, in alternate years. General sessions will be held in odd-numbered years; budget sessions, in even-numbered years, will begin the first Monday in March instead of the first Monday in January.

Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island and South Carolina also have annual legislative sessions. States in which regular legislative sessions are biennial frequently have found it necessary to call special sessions to enact emergency measures and provide special funds to keep pace with mounting operating costs.

Seventeen states called special legislative sessions during 1946 because of reconversion problems and fluctuating costs. California, Illinois, Michigan and New Jersey had two special sessions; Arizona had three special sessions this year and Ohio four.

The council observes that restrictions on the length of regular sessions often make special sessions necessary to conclude vital legislative business. Twenty-six states limit the length of regular sessions; special sessions are restricted in sixteen states.

In all states the power to call special sessions is vested in the governor. In Nebraska, Louisiana, Virginia and West Virginia the governor is required to call a special session on application of two-thirds of the members of each house.

The governor of Massachusetts must call the legislature into special session if a majority of its members requests him to do so. In Georgia the governor must call a special session upon petition of three-fifths of the members of each house.

New Hampshire is the only state where a special session may be called at the discretion of the legislature itself. The legislature has never exercised this right, however, though there have been special sessions in New Hampshire upon the call of the governor.

Fight Continues for Illinois Redistricting

Another effort to compel revision of Illinois legislative districts, unchanged since 1901 despite constitutional requirements, has been made by two university professors and a Chicago lawyer. Suit has been filed in the federal court to void the 1901 statute,

still on the books, and enjoin the state primary certifying board from certifying in 1948 or thereafter any nominations or elections for the legislature. The suit is based on two federal statutes, the Declaratory Judgment Act and the Civil Rights Act, the latter of which provides for equality of rights of all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States in every state and territory. Under present legislative districting, inequalities of representation run as high as fourteen to one; and Cook County (containing Chicago), with a majority of the state's population, has much less than majority representation.

Two of the present petitioners recently sued unsuccessfully to invalidate existing Congressional districts, also dating from 1901 (see the REVIEW, July 1946, page 359).

Strikes and Anti-Strike Efforts in Public Work

Efforts to prevent strikes in public employment have continued on the part of individual cities and groups of city representatives. At its annual conference in November the American Municipal Association urged the enactment of legislation to make unlawful any strike of municipal employees or the inciting of any strike that might imperil the public safety, health or welfare, and to prohibit employment by any municipal government of any person who incites or participates in any strike imperiling public safety, health or welfare. In December the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers held its annual conference in Washington, primarily to deal with current labor problems in industrial cities.

A Texas court has upheld a Dallas ordinance prohibiting union membership of city employees. The ordinance is reported to be an outgrowth of CIO efforts last spring to organize a union of 200 local garbage disposal employees. At that time a lower court denied the union an injunction to restrain the city from dismissing union members. The union appealed to the Court of Civil Appeals in Dallas which held that employees voluntarily accepted employment with the city and assumed obligations incident to such employment as regulated by existing laws. The city ordinance prohibiting civil servants' union membership was enacted in 1942.

The city council of Omaha, Nebraska, has made it illegal for police or firemen to join a union that permits members to strike for any reason.

In Tulsa, Oklahoma, a strike of municipal workers was ended when a state court held that a labor union of city garbage collectors had no right to strike against the municipality. The court also issued an injunction prohibiting picketing.

The longest recent strike of unionized municipal employees was the 42-day walkout of 310 city employees in Pontiac, Michigan. The union finally accepted a raise retroactive to July 1 and employees returned to their jobs. A proposal to increase the city tax levy by charter amendment in order to give further pay boosts was defeated by voters on November 5.

One of the most disturbing recent manifestations is a group of strikes and strike threats among school teachers, following the example in Norwalk, Connecticut.[1] On November 25 teachers in St. Paul, Minnesota, struck for higher wages, closing the city's 77 grade and high schools to 30,000 students. A similar strike in Minneapolis was averted on December 2 when the Federation of Teachers (AFL) agreed to a settlement reported to represent an immediate cost-of-living bonus, an initial

[1]See the REVIEW, October 1946, page 474.

salary increase of $40 per month and ultimate annual increases of $1,200 and a budget increase of $2,000,000. Another large-scale strike was in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, where 400 teachers returned to their classes on December 11 after a two-day strike; negotiations were to go on as to the claim for increases of $300 to $600 per annum. In nearby Providence substantial salary increases were demanded. In Hartford, Connecticut, a $450 cost-of-living adjustment was being urged, to the accompaniment of a strike threat.

Other cities where public employees went on strike recently for periods of several days include Bangor and Portland, Maine; McKeesport, Pennsylvania; Canton, East Liverpool and Wellston, Ohio; Goshen, Indiana; New Orleans, Louisiana; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Stockton, California; and Louisville, Kentucky.

Wide Variation in Police Ratios

Figures released by the Federal Bureau of Investigation disclose that Boston has the most police department members per unit of population of the nation's nineteen largest cities. It has 2,206 police officers and 238 civilian police employees, the 2,444 total being equivalent to 3.17 police personnel per 1,000 population.

Minneapolis, at the other extreme, has 495 police officers and 45 civilian police employees, or 1.10 police personnel per 1,000 population. The average for the 19 cities is 2.23 police personnel per 1,000 people. Chicago comes closest to the average with a ratio of 2.31 police to 1,000 population.

Computed on the basis of policemen per unit area, St. Louis ranks high with 36.22 police employees per square mile. Baltimore has 22.97 policemen per square mile, Cleveland has 25.92, and Kansas City only 11.16. The average for the 19 cities is 24.79 police employees per square mile.

Police Courses Draw from Far and Wide

A basic two-week course in traffic police training will be conducted in Oakland, California, January 6-18, by the Northwestern University Traffic Institute and the Traffic Division of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Thirty-four police officers from all parts of the country attended a three-week course in traffic police training at the Northwestern University Traffic Institute in Evanston, Illinois, in November. The course embodied the principles of modern traffic control and accident prevention, and was participated in by police from points as far distant as Maine, South Carolina, Oklahoma and the state of Washington.

Twenty-four municipal and state police officers, who were selected in nation-wide competition, are now attending the fall course in traffic police administration, which will be concluded January 25, 1947.

Some thirty regular Army officers enrolled December 2 at the Traffic Institute for a three-week course in traffic control; this is reported to be the first course of its kind ever offered anywhere and is one phase of the Army's intensive accident prevention program.

This is the first of three courses which will stress accident prevention and control of traffic, and will cover all subjects normally given in the institute's traffic police training courses.

Eighty policemen, representing 28 law-enforcement agencies in Oregon, took part last fall in that state's first postwar police training school.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Research Ranges Over Many Fields

Planning, Services, Personnel And Governmental Machinery

A REPORT on a preliminary revision of a $170,000,000 postwar improvement program for San Francisco, recommended by the Mayor's Citizens Postwar Planning Committee, is summarized in a bulletin of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director.

Water, its procurement, purification and distribution is the principal subject dealt with in a series of weekly numbers of *Citizens' Business,* issued by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** William C. Beyer, director. In "Choosing a Drink," the point is made that "selecting a water source because of its raw quality or distance from Philadelphia has little bearing on the drink obtained." Bulletins on stream purification review the causes of pollution and recent governmental action which "gives substantial grounds for optimism in regard to the restoration of our streams." Asking the question "Whose water bill do you pay?", one bulletin urges universal metering as the only way by which the careful user can be protected from subsidizing the water waster. The bureau has also issued a comprehensive special report, *Philadelphia's Water Supply,* embodying the results of its study of the water problem, analyzing proposals and recommending a program.

As in most cities, Philadelphia has a parking problem, which has also been discussed in recent numbers of *Citizens' Business.*

"Very few problems concern so many people of a city as traffic," according to a twenty-page *Traffic Study* issued by **Future Springfield, Inc.,** Springfield, Massachusetts, Sherman P. Voorhees, director. This report, which follows the pattern of earlier Future Springfield reports in the use of pictures and charts, lays the basis for a comprehensive attack on the traffic problem. "Halfway or restrictive measures are but a postponement of the day of reckoning."

Housing Survey

The *Pittsfield Housing Survey Report,* published by the City Planning Board by arrangement with the **Pittsfield Housing Survey Committee,** is the outcome of a survey conducted as "a community enterprise," under the direction of Philip C. Ahern, research director of the **Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Taxpayers Association.** Mr. Ahern calls attention to the fact that Pittsfield is known by market researchers and public opinion polls "as the 'Middletown' of the East . . . a community representative of urban American life." This is only one reason why these 158 pages of well organized tables, graphs and illustrations, with a minimum of editorial comment, should be interesting to persons in other communities who wish to discover and present the facts about their own housing problems.

Business Looks at Vocational Education in Pennsylvania is the first of a series being prepared by the **Research Bureau of the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce,** Leonard P. Fox, general secretary. The report is designed to present the over-all picture in terms of the basic facts about general versus vocational education, vocational offerings and enrollment, and job opportunities. It concludes that present "vocational training facilities are inadequate and not sufficiently related to the needs of the state."

One of the chief reasons for inadequate facilities is that vocational education is too expensive for many of the more than 1,000 school districts with separate secondary school systems. Other retarding factors have been the shortage of qualified teachers, attitudes and policies both of employers and of organized labor, and especially "the widely held conception that manual labor is degrading, that true culture can be taught only in academic schools and colleges, and that the successful man is one who works with his head rather than with his hands." Research was done by Arnold L. Edmonds, staff secretary of the chamber's committee on education.

The *Allegheny Conference Digest,* **Allegheny Conference on Community Development,** Park H. Martin, executive director, has carried a report on "Refuse Disposal in Allegheny County" by Alex W. Johns of the **Pennsylvania Economy League,** covering substantially the same ground as the joint report issued by the Economy League, which was mentioned in this section in October (page 479).

The Allegheny Conference has also issued a seventeen-page mimeographed memorandum by Marshall Stalley, assistant director, on the *Administration of Public Recreation* in nineteen cities. Essential facts are summarized in tables. The report concludes that "the importance of recreation as a major function of municipal government has become increasingly well recognized" and that "although there are relatively few examples of actual administrative consolidation or centralized management" there is a definite trend "toward fuller cooperation between local boards of education and city recreation departments" and other agencies.

"Veterans' Benefits in Connecticut" available from state and federal sources are summarized in an October 17 bulletin of the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Carter W. Atkins, executive director.

Now that the war is over "we must strive, as soon as it is at all possible, to pay both private and public employees out of current revenue and we must set all personnel establishments on the basis of actual present need," says the **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada,** Horace L. Brittain, managing director, in a recent bulletin. The bulletin suggests certain criteria by which citizens may judge the extent to which their governments are adjusting their personnel programs to peacetime conditions.

The trend of provisional appointments in Philadelphia's civil service is analyzed in two recent numbers of *Citizens' Business* published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.**

Interns in Government

The **Los Angeles County Bureau of Administrative Research,** H. F. Scoville, director, which has resumed its training program for "interns in government" has brought up to date its 1942 report on the personnel records of 46 student research technicians who have taken the course since 1933. The report summarizes the educational background and work experience since internship of each graduate. So far only four of these students, selected because of unusual prominence and interest in "making public service a career" have gone into strictly private industry. The typical graduate has had at least five positions and has attained a salary of about $350 a month.

The chronic weakness of local pension funds, particularly police and fire funds, is illustrated by three recent reports.

Taxpayers' Problems, issued by the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council,** Merle W. DeWees, executive director, gives comparative finance data on five city pension funds, indicates

that three of them are in trouble and recommends steps to bring all future policemen, firemen, custodians and engineers into the sound city employees pension fund.

City of Flint Pension Plans, a report by the **Genessee County Taxpayers Association,** G. Keyes Page, executive secretary, presents an eight-page analysis of the present condition and possible improvement of the city's pension funds. It points out that "the city has accumulated a staggering liability under a pension plan for members of its Police and Fire Departments," the blame for which goes back to the framers of the original plan in 1923.

"A Pension Fund Warning" is sounded in *It Is Your Business,* issued by the **Indianapolis Bureau of Governmental Research,** Carl R. Dortch, director. The report points out that the continuance of present police and fire pension policies threatens to deprive the men of anticipated benefits. Suggesting that the $.20 tax rate that would probably be necessary to support the fund by 1957 would "likely be prohibitive," the report recommends "complete reorganization of the two systems."

For Forms of Government

"The Old and the New, a Comparison of the Main Features of the Proposed Council-Manager Charter and the Existing Hartford City Charter," is presented with organization charts enlivened by pictographs, in the October number of *Taxpayers' Business,* published by the **Hartford Governmental Research Institute,** Leslie M. Gravlin, director.[1]

Boston's 1909 city charter as amended is summarized in *Boston City Charter 1909-1946,* a report prepared for the Special Charter Commission of 1946 by the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau,** Richard A. Atkins, secretary, and the **Civic Department of the Boston Chamber of Commerce,** E. J. Brehaut, manager. The 22-page report closes with an organization chart of the city government. It points out that the charter is one of the earliest examples of the strong-mayor type. For a complete view of municipal government in Boston the report states that it is necessary to consult many general laws and special statutes relating to the organization and powers of city departments and officers, Suffolk County agencies and other matters.

Two- or three-year staggered terms for members of the Toronto city council in place of the present one-year terms are again recommended by the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research,** Horace L. Brittain, director, in its October *Letter.* Among the reasons given for the change are desirability of an "*assured* continuity of membership," the elimination of the temptation under which all members of the council now rest to be obsessed at least for the last three or four months each year with "thoughts of election," and the avoidance of unwise measures calculated to influence sectional votes. The report also points out that the change should result in more responsible budget-making by the council actually responsible for executing it.

In pursuance of its policy of providing its readers with background information, the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** Sidney Detmers, managing director, has devoted two numbers of *Just a Moment* to descriptive reports on the Erie County Board of Supervisors and governmental forms in Erie County. The Board of Supervisors consists of 54 members elected by town, ward and city districts. It has not only legislative duties but also "almost absolute control of the administrative and executive functions of

[1]See page 32 this issue.

all the county departments even though some of them are headed by elective officials."

The *Monthly Bulletin* of **Government Research, Inc. of Los Angeles,** Ed F. Thompson, executive secretary, reports the findings of a study by the city's Bureau of the Budget and Efficiency on the Department of Mechanical Engineers. This department, one of two that report directly to the council, is described as an "orphan" which, because of a lack of a full-time administrative coordinator with definite responsibility, has developed a number of serious administrative deficiencies. Transfer of the functions and personnel of the department to the Building and Safety Department is recommended.

Your Government for October 7, bulletin of the **University of Kansas Bureau of Governmental Research,** Ethan P. Allen, director, is devoted to a discussion of the reorganization of Congress by Rhoten A. Smith, research assistant. The report notes shortcomings of the recent reorganization including the failure to include original proposals for machinery to develop more effective legislative-executive relationships. The report concludes that while it is impossible to put "unbounded faith in the power of political machinery," the reorganization act of 1946 "is a long stride in the direction of an invigorated Congress."

University Bureaus of Public Administration

The University Bureaus of Public Administration (87 pages), edited by Roscoe C. Martin and published by the **Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama,** is a series of eight papers with a tentative list of 28 existing bureaus. This series grew out of two round table sessions at the 1946 meeting of the **American Political Science Association.** In a foreword Dr. Martin describes a university bureau of public administration as "somewhere short of a separate school yet definitely outside of the usual college-and-departmental structure . . . set up in a number of institutions by way of answer to the needs of public administration for special emphasis." Authors of the papers are: James W. Fesler, Rowland Egger, Lent D. Upson, Samuel C. May, Robert S. Ford, Weldon Cooper, Morris B. Lambie, and Lee S. Greene.

The first annual report of the **University of Mississippi Bureau of Public Administration,** Robert B. Highsaw, director, again calls attention to the rapid progress of university bureaus of public administration in the South. With a director and assistant director, three student research assistants and the part-time assistance of members of at least three university departments, the bureau plans an ambitious program of research, publication and service at the regional, state and local levels during the next year. Scheduled for early appearance are *Handbook for Mississippi Legislators, Forms of Municipal Government,* and *Housing Needs in Mississippi.* During the last year the bureau supplied service to legislators, state administrators and local officials; published two local surveys—a survey of Greenville, Mississippi, and a fiscal survey of Leland; and completed its part of the Regional Resources Administration Project, written by the director, to be published this winter under the title, *Mississippi's Wealth: A Study of the Public Administration of Natural Resources.*

A tentative joint research project on government in the Cleveland area has been outlined by Professor Karl Bosworth for **Western Reserve University** and the **Citizens League,** of which he is assistant director. Among proposed topics are the search for leaders and followers, systems of election and representation, and cooperation and interaction among the governments.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Know-How of Civic Action

Effective Organization a Must for Good Citizens

ONE of the sessions of the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, held in Philadelphia November 11-13, was a panel discussion on "Guiding the Civic Battle," under the direction of Dr. Shepherd L. Witman, director of the Council on World Affairs, Cleveland, and a well known expert on the conduct of discussion groups.

Members of the panel included Mark Matthews, former president of the U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce; Miller McClintock, consultant to Encyclopaedia Britannica Films; L. H. Dooley, president of the McMinn County, Tennessee, Good Government League; Mrs. Virgil Loeb, of the Missouri League of Women Voters; Carter W. Atkins, executive director of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council; and Forest Frank, executive director of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee. Other participants included representatives of local, state and national civic and research groups.

Mr. Frank directed his remarks to "Political Organization and the Civic Battle." "Government, even on the community level, is not a simple mechanism," he said. "It is a complex interaction of four distinct factors: the laws or framework under which the community operates, the public officials who make and administer the laws, the voters who ultimately choose or delegate the choice of the public officials, and the organizations through which the voters unite to make their choices effective.

"Unfortunately," he continued, "in most civic enterprises, attention is concentrated on the elected officials and the framework of government. Too little concern is paid the organizations through which voters unite to make their choices effective.

"Because political parties at the community level have so often degenerated into political machines, there has been a tendency to assume that the way to avoid degeneration was to avoid the methods of the political parties. As a result, effective organization of voters has been achieved principally by political machines and special interest pressure groups. The great bulk of the citizenry has been content to criticize or ignore the conduct of civic affairs. At best, it has opposed the disciplined forces of the political organization with only the chaotic or ineffectual force of nonpartisanship.

"The stereotype response among even so-called better citizens to suggestions having to do with action on public affairs is, 'Oh, I never take sides. That's political and I don't want anything to do with politics.' As if it were a virtue to be ineffectual or an achievement to be blind.

"Businessmen, who would not think of attempting a public opinion survey or launching a household product without the most minutely planned and carefully supervised customer research or neighborhood canvass, recoil from the methods of political organization as from a plague. Social workers trained in the techniques of the neighborhood social unit see in political organization an unclean device. Yet political organization methods antedate customer research, neighborhood canvasses, and the social unit by many centuries in time. Political or-

ganization methods are as old as democracy itself, as old as the market place of Athens and the forum of Rome.

"It is true that the organization of political parties too frequently does degenerate into the organization of political machines. But this is due chiefly to our pernicious American custom of using public office to promote private gain. Despite the great strides which the last 30 years have witnessed in the development of a true public career service in the United States, awarding of jobs and contracts on a political patronage basis is still a marked characteristic of our civic life.

Patronage Unnecessary

"Many well meaning citizens, of course, continue to believe patronage is necessary to preserve the national parties 'at the grass roots where the precinct work is done.' But fortunately, other citizens are coming to realize that this is a false view. The example of England where patronage is unknown is becoming clear. We can only hope that eventually party leaders themselves will recognize the evils of the system and bring about its elimination.

"Political patronage is unnecessary, but political organization is vital. The most tragic error commonly made by those who seek to achieve civic reforms and civic progress is the assumption that they can be effective without organization.

"Though they may deny it, even so-called nonpartisan groups frequently make at least partial use of the organization methods of the political parties. In Cincinnati the City Charter Committee, though depending on the support of citizens who are staunch Democrats or Republicans in national affairs, utilizes the ward, precinct and election-day methods of the political parties so far as it possibly can.

"In every community there are men and women of different creeds, races and walks of life who have become accustomed to working together for unselfish and altruistically inspired objectives. They are the men and women who conduct our social service agencies, our community fund campaigns, and a host of other social and civic activities. Their spirits are welded together in elevation of community standards of health, character and welfare. The extension of their activities and effectiveness into the field of politics is a natural one. The only obstacle to its ready accomplishment is the continuing error which confuses political organization with the political machine.

"It must be the function of our educators and civic leaders alike to expose this error and to re-emphasize the importance of organized participation in politics. There must be discarded the prevalent notion that political organization of itself is beneath the dignity of good citizens, and that progress in governmental affairs is possible without cooperative effect and organization technique.

"The realities of political organization are the stock-in-trade of those who use public affairs for private gain. It is up to those whose motives are more socially inspired to recognize the hard practical sense of the methods of the politician and 'go and do likewise'."

In a general session of the conference devoted to "Education for Action," and presided over by Frederick P. Gruenberg of the Fels Fund, Philadelphia, Dr. John J. Mahoney, of Boston University, author of *For Us the Living: An Approach to Civic Education*, took as his subject, "Time to Begin." He described briefly the plans of the state teachers colleges in Massachusetts, just begun, which are working at the formulation of a program of

civic education. "Massachusetts as a state," he said, "has joined the ranks of those pioneering communities that are trying definitely and realistically to educate for democracy."

Time to Begin

"The most important and by far the most difficult problem before American educators today," continued Dr. Mahoney, "is that of formulating teaching procedures that are calculated to teach 140,000,000 Americans how to live together well and in the democratic way. To accomplish this purpose educators should begin now to develop an adequate program of education for democracy—civic education—in which every teacher of every subject from grade 1 to grade 12 should participate.

"Barring some promising ventures in a comparatively few school systems no such program is in existence. This means more specifically that no definite and adequate attempt is being made through specific teachings to cause future citizens to understand what democracy, as democracy, means; to develop a keen interest in politics; to secure better political leadership; to stem the tide of juvenile delinquency; to eliminate intergroup prejudices and discriminations; to wipe out economic illiteracy; to get the teachings of religion translated into civic behavior.

"Admitting that some school systems are trying earnestly to accomplish some of the purposes indicated above, few, if any, are seeing the problem clearly and seeing it whole. The great majority of secondary school graduates, as proved by tests given to some thousands of young men and women in my classes over a period of years, are tragically uninterested in politics. Hence so much vote-slacking and so many people voting their ignorance rather than their sober judgment."

The conference's "Clinic on Teaching Citizenship in the Schools," under the direction of Walter J. Millard of Cincinnati, had among its speakers: John J. Mahoney, of Boston University; Stanley E. Dimond, director of the Citizenship Education Study, Detroit Public Schools; C. Leslie Cushman, associate superintendent of Philadelphia schools; Clement A. Duran, consultant, Hi-Y Youth and Government Programs, Y. M. C. A.; and Edward W. Carter of the University of Pennsylvania.

Schools and Communities

Dr. Cushman illustrated the things that are essential for effective civic education by reminding his listeners of the story of the "Wacker Plan."

"Some forty years ago," he said, "a group of young men in Chicago got hold of the idea that the lake front of that city might be made a thing of great use and of great beauty for the citizens of that great city. They developed what was known as the Wacker Plan for the Chicago Lake Front.

"It was the opinion of these men that the plan they had dreamed would meet with many doubts and much opposition; they were convinced that a carefully planned program of education would be required. Accordingly they prepared what was known as the *Wacker Manual,* a description of their plan and of the ways they believed it might be brought into being.

"That manual became a textbook for study throughout the high schools of that city. Some few years later, about the time this generation of high school students came to the age of voting, propositions regarding this plan for the Chicago lake front began to appear on the city ballot. I am told that no one of those propositions has ever suffered defeat. The result is that throughout a period of 30 years the

city of Chicago has been continously engaged in changing its lake front from a weeded waste to what is perhaps the most magnificent city front in the world."

"This story," explained Dr. Cushman, "illustrates most of the things that are essential for effective civic education. The first is a plan, a great plan or a great dream for something of wide appeal to the people of a city. Archibald MacLeish has said that the only danger to America is that people may lose their capacity to dream great dreams for the morrow, which of course is but a restatement of the words of the prophet, 'Without vision the people perish.'

Faith and Vision

"The second is that this was a vision of practical men and women who knew what they were about.

"Third, what happened was made possible through an alliance of school and community.

"There are two points, however, at which what was done leaves something to be desired from an educational point of view. First, the program did not immediately involve youth of the schools in a program of action. Second, the program related immediately to a project so vast that it was difficult for any individual in any single neighborhood to grasp its full significance, much less see how he could perform an important service in bringing it into being.

"All this may seem quite different from what people have thought of as civic education. Civic education in the schools brings thoughts of books, history, constitutions, and the like. All these have their place. But teachers and schools with books only as their implements are relatively helpless. Books, history, constitutions become meaningful when they are seen by the pupil as being related to the realization of a better community, which he may help create.

"Two fundamental generalizations can be made:

"First, we, the teachers of youth concerned with civic education can succeed in our purposes only to the extent that the community has faith in a great future, has practical plans for implementing that faith, and is ready to make the schools a full partner in realizing those plans.

"Second, the citizens of this community who have faith and who have plans have in the schools a great resource for realizing our ends—a resource that has been used in a very limited way in American society."

Dr. Cushman referred to his own city, Philadelphia, "in many ways a favorable city for the formation of such an alliance between school and community. More than any other city in America," he remarked, "Philadelphia was established as a city with a plan—a city with a material plan for streets, houses and community centers suited to the realization of a great spiritual ideal.

"In our community councils, in the cooperative activities of this body and the schools, in the program that is evolving in our elementary curriculum in our new plans for using the schools as recreational centers, in the tentative plans for an alliance of school and community, there have been made significant beginnings in the formation of such an alliance as is here proposed."

"The schools with books alone are quite incapable of preparing youth to live calmly and as law abiding citizens in a community or world of such despair. But given a community with a faith in its future, plans for making that faith a reality, and a readiness to make of the schools a full working partner, the future can be viewed as a time of the greatest promise."

Proportional Representation • • *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Coos Bay's First P. R. Election

France Uses List System for National Assembly

THE city of Coos Bay, Oregon, held its first P. R. election November 5, under a new charter providing for the election of six councilmen by the Hare system of proportional representation and a mayor separately elected by majority preferential vote.

This was the first use of P. R. in a municipality west of the Rocky Mountains since the successful use of that system in Sacramento, California, was interrupted by judicial interpretation of the state constitution. The system is specifically authorized in the Oregon constitution.

There were originally eighteen candidates entered in the Coos Bay race, but five were forced to withdraw because of a requirement of land ownership imposed on candidates by the charter. The campaign did not involve national party affiliations, but two groups—a labor council and a business group—endorsed lists of candidates. Two of the councilmen elected were endorsed by both groups, and one additional candidate from each list was elected. The other two councilmen elected were members of the previous city council who had been induced to seek the office by a meeting of the outgoing council. One of them was the only councilman elected on the first count and received a surplus of first choices.

The six elected happened to be the same six who were highest in first choices. This does not mean, of course, that they would have been elected under a plurality plan with six votes for each voter instead of one. Under a plurality plan some voters are likely to help elect all six while others help elect none.

There were 1,474 valid ballots cast, making a quota of 211 necessary for election. There were 64 invalid ballots, 4.1 per cent of the ballots marked. There were also 27 blanks. In the election of the mayor, who was unopposed except for a few write-in votes, there were 112 blanks and 23 spoiled out of 1,568 ballots.

The counting of the ballots for council and mayor was accomplished by the county clerk, his assistant and two election board members within a single day.

Coos Bay is noteworthy for the application of proportional representation to a small city, most of the other P. R. communities in this country and Canada being much larger. One reason for incorporation of P. R. in the charter was the hope that the assurance of proper minority representation would encourage adjoining communities to annex themselves to Coos Bay for the better development of the locality.

A vigorous campaign was carried on preceding the election to acquaint the citizens with P. R. and the use of the preferential ballot under that system.

Dr. Herman Kehrli of the League of Oregon Cities made a visit to Coos Bay and explained the system before several groups. William T. McLean, a teacher at a local high school, to whom the REVIEW is indebted for information concerning the election, gave talks, demonstrations and explanations before many local societies. A high school class performed a radio program describing P. R. as applied to Coos Bay.

The accompanying result sheet tells concisely the details of the election.

RESULT SHEET

COOS BAY, OREGON, ELECTION OF CITY COUNCILMEN, NOVEMBER 5, 1946

Valid Ballots—1,474 To be Elected—6 Quota—211

	First Count	Transfer of Dashney's Surplus	Transfer of West's Ballots	Transfer of McLaughlin's Ballots	Transfer of Hanen's Ballots	Transfer of Cox's Ballots	Transfer of Nelson's Ballots	Transfer of Gebhardt's Ballots	Transfer of Wade's Ballots	Final Result
WAYNE P. CHANEY	139	+ 5 144	+ 7 151	+ 7 158	+17 175	+ 2 177	+25 202	+ 9 211	211	ELECTED
G. FRANCIS COX	80	+ 3 83	+ 4 87	+ 1 88	+ 1 89	−89				Defeated
D. D. DASHNEY	302	−91 211	211	211	211	211	211	211	211	ELECTED
ROBERT F. GEBHARDT	75	+ 7 82	+ 5 87	+ 4 91	+ 3 94	+12 106	+12 118	−118		Defeated
P. P. GRAY, JR.	137	+12 149	+ 7 156	+11 167	+ 4 171	+15 186	+23 209	+ 2 211	211	ELECTED
ALTON C. HALL	119	+18 137	+ 7 144	+ 9 153	+18 171	+ 7 178	+ 9 187	+24 211	211	ELECTED
J. C. HANEN	77	+ 6 83	+ 4 87	87	−87					Defeated
NEIL HOSKING	152	+ 5 157	+ 1 158	+16 174	+10 184	+27 211	211	211	211	ELECTED
COLIN P. MACNAB	125	+25 150	150	+ 1 151	+14 165	+ 4 169	+13 182	+21 203	+ 8 211	ELECTED
L. V. McLAUGHLIN	67	+ 3 70	+ 4 74	−74						Defeated
JOHN W. NELSON	78	+ 2 80	+ 4 84	+ 9 93	+ 9 102	+ 1 103	−103			Defeated
A. L. WADE	77	+ 2 79	+ 5 84	+10 94	+ 9 103	+ 5 108	+13 121	+ 9 130	−130	Defeated
GEORGE B. WEST	46	+ 3 49	−49							Defeated
EXHAUSTED			+ 1 1	+ 6 7	+ 2 9	+16 25	+ 8 33	+53 86	+122 208	
TOTALS	1474	1474	1474	1474	1474	1474	1474	1474	1474	

EDITOR'S NOTE.—An independent group including certain business leaders endorsed candidates Chaney, Gebhardt, Gray, Hall, McLaughlin and Nelson. The Southwestern Oregon Central Labor Trades Council endorsed Cox, Gray, Hall, Hosking, McLaughlin and Wade. Candidates Dashney and MacNab were members of the outgoing city council.

Party	Votes	Per cent Votes	Seats	Per cent Seats
Communist	5,475,955	28.6	164	30.2
Popular Republican (MRP)	5,033,430	26.3	158	29.1
Socialist	3,454,080	18.0	92	16.9
PRL and other right	3,136,630	16.4	83	15.2
Radicals and other left	1,971,660	10.3	47	8.6
Others	59,084	0.3	—	—

France Elects National Assembly

The results of the third P. R. national election held in France—the first for the newly constituted National Assembly—show little change compared with the elections in October 1945 and June 1946 for delegates to a constituent assembly. In the election on November 10 the three largest parties obtained 76 per cent of the Assembly seats in metropolitan France. The remaining seats were obtained by candidates adhering more or less to two distinct political groups. Of the latter, the group centered on the old Radical party and called the *Rassemblement de Gauche* is probably more integrated than the other, centered on the Republican Party of Liberty (P.R.L.), to which some smaller groups, classed with it for purposes of election statistics, have rather loose affiliation, if any.

In all three elections the Communist and Popular Republican parties have shown greatest strength, with between 24 per cent and 29 per cent of the votes. The Socialist party has been third, with a strength declining over the three elections from 23.5 to 18 per cent. As pointed out before, the present strength of the three leading parties constitutes a greater concentration of votes on a few leading parties than French politics produced with the single-member district system under the Third Republic. The latest election shows that the effect is persistent.

Statistics[1] of this election for metropolitan France, where 19,148,744 out of 24,387,315 registered voters participated, are given in the table above.

The National Assembly includes, in addition, certain members from overseas territories of the French Union—30 from Algeria and 15 from other areas—concerning the election of which complete statistics are not readily available. Comparison of the table above with the two elections reported in this department last July (page 371) shows surprisingly little change. The greatest change from the results of the election last June was the slight shrinkage of the Socialist vote from 21.1 per cent to 18 per cent. The slight increase in the percentage of the Communist vote was not the result of additional Communist votes, but of a falling off of attendance at the polls among other political groups. About 750,000 more votes were cast in the June election—a difference of less than 4 per cent of the total poll.

[1]From the French Press and Information Service.

Unproportional Representation in Australian Elections

The Australian general election of September 29, 1946, indicates the shortcomings of the majority representation systems used there, even when compounded with such innovations as a preferential ballot intended to assure a majority choice in each district and compulsory voting.

Results of the Senate election were particularly undemocratic. A majority system in multi-member districts was used—each state electing three. With

(Continued on page 58)

Two Counties Consider Manager Plan

Need for New Charters Cited by Civic Groups

THE Good Government League of McMinn County, Tennessee, is now engaged in drafting a reorganization act for presentation to the forthcoming session of the state legislature. In order to observe circumstances comparable to those of McMinn County, the league is studying the manager plan as it is operating in Hamilton County, Tennessee.

Athens, county seat of McMinn County, was the scene of violence in the recent local elections in which the strongly entrenched county political machine was thoroughly defeated.[1]

Civic organizations, newspapers and community leaders of Lane County, Oregon, are uniting in their efforts to secure the manager form of government. The county judge, a successful farmer and influential civic leader, has declared publicly that if he were to operate his farm by the methods used to operate the county government he would be driven into bankruptcy. The American Veterans' Committee is sponsoring a series of radio forums upon public issues, the first of which is upon the county manager plan. The *Eugene Register-Guard* also is supporting the plan. A charter committee will be appointed if developments warrant it.

Georgia County Begins Reorganization

The three members of the Richmond County (Augusta), Georgia, Board of Commissioners who, as candidates of the Independent League for Good Government, unseated the incumbents representing the long-dominant Cracker party and thereby secured control of the county board,[1] have announced some of the measures they will adopt to improve the county government. They are abolishing the position of county engineer; and the position of superintendent of roads, bridges and stockade will represent the consolidation of three existing positions. A single officer will serve also as clerk of the board, courthouse custodian, and county purchasing agent. The positions of coroner's physician and county physician also are being combined. The question of establishing a county police system is under consideration. Also under scrutiny is the need for the three delinquent tax collectors in the county.

Michigan County Government Study

The Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, has issued a 24-page pamphlet on local government entitled, *Reorganization of Michigan's County Government.* The authors, Robert Ford and Claude Tharp, list the defects of Michigan county government as follows:

1. There is no over-all administrative head;
2. The county consists of a complicated administrative organization in which there is considerable duplication of functions among agencies;
3. The board of supervisors is too large, and it possesses both legislative and administrative powers; and
4. County government requires a "bed sheet" ballot of elective officials.

The authors declare that, "Any plan for the reorganization of county gov-

[1]See the REVIEW, September 1946, page 435.

[1]See the REVIEW, June 1946, page 310.

ernment should be judged with reference to those four basic defects and the extent to which it corrects them. In past elections many citizens have voted against reorganization proposals in Michigan because they did not understand the points at issue. Furthermore, it is a common technique in opposing government changes to distort the objectives in an effort to confuse the voter or to capitalize on his apathy so that he will either vote against the proposal or not vote at all."

The authors express the belief that an educational campaign should be undertaken throughout the state to explain the need for reorganization. Their pamphlet contains a description of what other states have been doing to modernize county government, including descriptions of the county option plan and home rule. Although Ford and Tharp believe that a constitutional amendment will be necessary for a thorough reorganization of Michigan county government, they suggest a number of improvements that could be made under statutory law without any change in the constitution.

Unique among their suggestions is the proposal that the county controller could be developed into a county executive. "In addition to specific duties now conferred on the controller, the legislature might add new responsibilities, such as budget preparation for presentation to the county board, recommendations concerning appointment and compensation of personnel under control of the county board, and assisting the board in the coordination of county offices and departments."

Analysis of the duties of county officials, the authors report, reveals that many duties of a manager are now vested in the controller and, consequently, with some expansion of his duties, Michigan could in effect secure modified county manager government without first adopting a constitutional amendment.

At the present time controllers can be appointed in Michigan only in counties having more than 75,000 residents. There are only four counties in which a controller has been appointed and only twelve counties which can qualify under the present law. In order to establish the plan throughout the state, it would be necessary to amend the law in order to permit any county of the state to appoint a controller.

North Carolina Counties Request Legislation

Resolutions adopted by the 39th annual convention of the North Carolina Association of County Commissioners, held recently at Wrightsville Beach, included:

1. That the tax lister be relieved of responsibility for the farm census;
2. That state aid be provided for county tubercular sanatoria;
3. That discounts for prepayment of taxes be made optional rather than mandatory upon the counties;
4. That county boards be given a voice in determining the non-federal aid roads to be given state aid, and that one-half of state road funds be used on such roads;
5. That the state install county road markers;
6. That the county tax limit be raised; and
7. That the business tax be amended to plug loopholes.

County Has Wolf Problems

Taylor County, Texas, has had to consider the problem of wolves—that is, of the old-fashioned variety. The Commissioners Court recently raised its contribution to the county trapper's salary from $100 to $125 monthly.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Urge Fiscal Reforms for Clinton, Iowa

Property Reappraisal, Budget System Needed

A COMMITTEE of officials and citizens in Clinton, Iowa, recently recommended sweeping changes in administrative and fiscal practices in an effort to eliminate chronic operating deficits and regain a legal borrowing margin adequate for the city's expanding needs.

Among the more important recommendations were: that the city adopt a modern budget system, institute an effective means of expenditure control, adopt an effective accounting system, reappraise all taxable property to equalize valuations and eliminate many patent inequalities, adopt a centralized purchasing system, and institute measures to assure collection of delinquent assessments.

The committee also urged that Clinton join with other Iowa cities and towns in seeking legislation to grant municipalities a share of state liquor profits in towns with state liquor stores, increase the city share of state licenses and motor vehicle and fuel taxes, authorize municipalities to impose local wheel or vehicle taxes, authorize higher local licenses for beer sale permits, and provide for appointment of assessors on a merit basis rather than for their election as at present.

The committee found that the city had gotten through the 1930's only by resorting to such expedients as issuing bonds to fund deficits and by refunding maturing bonds, that it had shown increasing deficits since 1940, and faced a prospective deficit of between $74,000 and $124,000 at the end of the 1946-47 fiscal year.

Despite the community's growth, realty valuations had been increased only nominally, and the tax rate had mounted but without keeping pace with rising costs. It was estimated that a reassessment would approximately double present realty assessed valuations.

Roanoke Raises License Taxes

The Roanoke, Virginia, city council early in December adopted a revised license code which is expected to raise license tax income from this year's $352,000 to at least $750,000 and perhaps to as much as $1,000,000.

Illustrative of the new rates, which went into effect January 1, is that for retail merchants, who now pay $40 plus 22 cents per $100 for sales over $4,000, and who will pay $50 plus 50 cents per $100 on all sales. Wholesalers formerly paid 20 cents per $100 on the first $100,000 of sales, and will pay 25 cents per $100 on all sales. Amusements will pay 1 per cent on their sales, hotels ¾ of 1 per cent, taxi and dry cleaners 1 per cent, etc.

Many merchants vigorously opposed the new schedule, but support from prospective taxpayers was not lacking and the revised code was adopted by a council vote of four to one.

ELMORE D. HEINS
Roanoke, Virginia

Municipal Auditoriums Lose Money

Most municipal auditoriums in the larger cities are operating at a loss and their facilities lie idle an average of almost four months per year, according to a survey made by a state-estab-

lished board for the mayor of Indianapolis. Citizens of that city have been seeking to include a municipal auditorium in the city's postwar public works program.

While aware of the cultural and civic benefits of auditoriums, the board concluded that auditorium construction during the next few years was not economically feasible in Indianapolis. Construction of a building to seat 10,000 was estimated to cost nearly $10,000,000.

The board found that among nine large cities use of municipal auditorium facilities averages only about 200 days annually. Cleveland's auditorium, idle an average of only 74 days a year, was the most used. But the unit seldom pays its annual operating expenses from auditorium revenues. Many Clevelanders maintain, however, that the $10,000,000 building more than makes up for its operating deficit by attracting conventions and convention business to the city.

New Orleans and Kansas City, Missouri, were the only cities reporting receipts sufficient to pay operating expenses. Kansas City's auditorium gets most of its revenue in office rentals from a federal agency and thus pays its own operating costs.

Other cities with municipal auditoriums, all with seating capacities of over 5,000 persons, are Grand Rapids, Memphis, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, St. Louis and Milwaukee. The units cost between two and ten million dollars.

Difficulty of providing adequate parking facilities was presented by Indianapolis as another reason for not building an auditorium. A capacity crowd of 11,000 would transport itself to the building in some 3,000 automobiles, traffic experts estimate. Either four city blocks or a four-deck parking garage would be needed to handle this number of cars.

Plans for a civic auditorium in Omaha, meanwhile, were given a boost recently when the Federal Works Agency agreed to grant a $105,000 loan to finance advanced planning on the $3,500,000 proposed structure. Plans call for the unit to seat 5,000 and provide parking space for 2,500 cars.

Auditorium rentals are recent issues in other cities. Toledo councilmen have approved an ordinance fixing an average rental of $75 per night for auditorium use, with $150 per night for one-night stands.

Voters Approve Bond Issues

State and local voters assented at the elections of November 5 to the issuance of over a billion dollars of new bonds, according to the post-election tabulation made by *The Daily Bond Buyer*.[1] With only about one per cent of the election total missing, the tabulation showed 209 issues aggregating $1,009,178,130 approved. Ninety-nine issues totaling $83,982,025 were defeated, and there had been no report on 81 issues amounting to $13,998,568. The totals include a Texas state issue (approved) which was voted on at a special election held November 7 because of a mistake of the legislature in setting the date.

This year's large amount reflects mainly the inclusion of state issues, mostly for veterans' bonuses, totaling $837,000,000; all were approved.

Auto License Plate Shortage

Shortages of steel and paint are forcing a number of states to expedients almost as drastic as those of the harried owner of a prewar auto awaiting delivery of his new car. According to the Federation of Tax Administra-

[1]See "November Bond Proposals Over Billion Dollars," the REVIEW, December 1946, page 617.

tors, Kentucky, Maine, and Wisconsin will provide motor vehicle owners with windshield stickers instead of metal license plates. Virginia will provide two plates, of aluminum, but only the numerals will be in color. West Virginia will provide a single plate, to be carried at the rear. New York, which had hoped to return to two-plate display for 1947, will hold to a single tag.

Legislative Committees Report on Finance Surveys

The findings of recess committee surveys of municipal finance and education will be among the important matters facing the Massachusetts legislature, according to the state Federation of Taxpayers' Associations.

Presently, the cost of education in the state is approximately $77,000,000 annually, of which the state provides less than $4,000,000, distributed primarily on the basis of assessed valuation. The federation expects that a sales tax, recommended by State Tax Commissioner Henry F. Long, may be proposed to finance state assumption of a larger share of the cost. It is estimated that a 2 per cent sales tax would yield about $45,000,000.

The legislature will probably be asked also to enact laws specifically authorizing the use of parking meters by cities and towns and the payment of group life insurance premiums by municipalities. The legislative committee on municipal finance is expected also to continue its study of an over-all revision and modernization of municipal finance laws.

Michigan Increases State Aid

Michigan voters approved at the election in November the so-called sales tax amendment to the state constitution, which provides that one cent of the state's three-cent sales tax be returned to the local units. One-half cent will go to school districts, on the basis of school population, and one-half cent will go to the cities, villages and townships on the basis of county population. In addition, the amendment provided a "floor" for state general fund support to school districts designed to perpetuate the approximate relationship between state general fund school aid and state sales tax collections for 1945 and 1946.

State sales tax collections in 1945-46 exceeded $118,000,000, and conservative estimates for 1946-47 are for $135,000,000.

Baltimore Increases Its Revenues

The Baltimore city council has passed a tax levy budget of $71,184,383 for 1947 and established a real estate tax rate of $2.96 per $100 of assessed valuation. This is a budget increase of $7,868,016 over 1946 and a three-cent reduction in tax rate.

The city council, using for the first time special powers temporarily granted to the city of Baltimore by the state legislature, enacted the following:

Taxes ranging from $10 to $25 on pinball machines, music machines, shuffleboards and the like;

Tax of one cent per pack on the sale of cigarettes;

Tax of 5 per cent on gas, electricity and telephone bills;

Tax of 5 per cent on betting at the Pimlico Race Track. (This would not be levied if the legislature, which meets in January 1947, enacts new legislation governing the distribution of state race track revenues to the city of Baltimore and to Maryland counties.)

The estimated annual yield of these four supplementary tax sources is $4,550,000.

D. Benton Biser, *Director*
Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Local Government in Palestine

Cities and Towns Have Limited Jurisdiction

SINCE the national government of Palestine is not elected by the inhabitants but is chosen by the British, municipal units serve the citizen as a sounding-board for the expression of political viewpoints and desires.

Elections for municipal units, therefore, take on a sharper form and generate a more heated political atmosphere than in countries with a constitutional structure.

There is great variance in the level of development of municipal units in the Jewish and Arab communities despite the fact that, in respect to charters and constitutional rights, there is almost no distinction. The actual difference is expressed by the size of the budget, the quality of the services, social welfare, education, etc.

For example, there is a vast difference between two neighboring cities considered modern in their respective communal groups: Tel Aviv with a population close to 200,000, and Jaffa with nearly 150,000. The budget of Tel Aviv is five times greater than that of Jaffa, and that difference is obviously reflected in services and in the setup of the city itself.

There are three types of municipal units: the city, the local council, and the regional local council. Local councils differ one from the other in their area and in their populations, ranging from the smallest with a maximum of 400-500 inhabitants to large populations of 9000 and more. There is, however, no difference in their jurisdiction. The Regional Local Council is organically different in that it is a federation of a number of agricultural communities united for common affairs and activities, each village remaining autonomous in internal matters.

The charter and structure of the local units are similar to those in England, but are adjusted to the conditions of the country. Local governments are much more limited in their activities, services, budget, sources of income, however, and are subject to supervision of district commissioners.

The charters and areas of jurisdiction are fixed by the government, which does not always consider the will of the inhabitants. Consequently, despite the rapid development of the country and the growth of the *Yishuv* there are still many reactionary laws: (1) In the range of activity, (2) bad services, (3) social welfare, (4) poll tax. But, these handicaps notwithstanding, a definite progressive development has taken place.

The income of the municipal units is based on the property tax and recompense for various services, and therefore the taxes cannot be progressive.

Since the municipal units developed within the last ten years, clearly they did not succeed in acquiring great amounts of public property, schools, public institutions, etc., that would benefit the citizen. On the other hand, the dynamic development of the country, and the immigration of Jewish refugees, tax municipal units with needs in housing, health care, education, and social aid, needs that cannot be handled through the regular limited taxation. Therefore, last year a new tax was instituted, the social welfare tax not only on entertainment places and cafes but even directly on the citizen.

For a number of years now the municipal institutions have been demanding reform from the central government in respect to the tax system. The demand centralizes around (1) granting of permission to collect an income tax; (2) a grant from the government of 20 per cent of the local budget. After much pressure the government made grants-in-aid to the municipalities of 10 per cent of their receipts from the property tax.

No Community Debt

In one other area the government hampers the growth and development of local government, in the receipt of loans or issuing of bonds for important municipal projects. This difficulty persists despite the fact that the stock market and the banks are prepared to grant loans, and the institutions themselves have proved their financial stability.

As an example, the community debt and the general debt of municipalities in Palestine does not reach even one pound (four dollars) per citizen, whereas in England this debt reaches several hundred pounds for each citizen.

The development of municipal units and their activity generally has been rapid and attainments many. The Jewish community succeeded in erecting municipal institutions that serve also as an example to the Arabs.

The system of elections is not uniform throughout the country. In many places the poll tax system exists, but in many others general free elections are the pattern. The tendency in Palestine, thanks to the pressure of the labor movement, is to abolish the poll tax.

Elections for councils are held once every three years. The number of members elected is not uniform. The minimum is seven and the maximum twelve to fourteen.

The system of elections is proportional;[1] generally the slates are set up by parties. Every party puts up its candidates and, according to the number of votes received, it sends a number of its candidates to the council. Every group of citizens in the locality can set up an independent list if it receives a fixed minimum of signatures from among the citizenry when the lists are being announced. This system has proved its efficiency and excellence in that it gives a minority the fullest possibility of expressing its opinion in the municipal unit, and to participate in other activities of the locality. Similarly, the representatives reflect most accurately the will of the voters of the locality. Therefore each representative feels more powerfully his ethical and political responsibility towards his constituents, and it is natural that he must also be ethically and intellectually among the best men of the locality.

The mayor of the city or the president of the council is chosen by the council—with consent of the government. The committees and other departments follow the same rule. The mayor or president of the local council is responsible to the council and to the government for activities, budget and expenses in carrying out the decision of the council.

In general, the council delegates its members to committees in order to have them participate in the actual work of the institution and so that there be vigilance over the various departments. The heads of departments and the committees give a report on their activities before the council. The council can and often does bring a number of local citizens into every committee, and through this practice can widen the circle of citizens connected with the local government.

[1]See "P. R. Used for Palestine Elections," the REVIEW, May 1946, page 261.

Thus it awakens and reveals instinctive sources, interest, and devotion of the inhabitants to the affairs and welfare of the community.

Housing for refugees that are streaming from all directions toward Palestine and also for the veterans returning from the fronts is the great need. Every municipality is forced to concern itself with this problem and to search for community sources through tithes—and somewhat through loans—in order to build low-rental houses; this despite the high cost of construction and materials in Palestine. In this realm many concrete projects have been undertaken and hundreds of homes have already been built. If the government were more liberal in granting aid from its own sources or in giving free reign for making loans, it would be possible to build thousands of homes thus overcoming the housing shortage.

One recent development is in the direction of erecting municipal hospitals that will be free of charge for those unable to pay, thus assuring the health of the populace. Many localities are promising by means of an impressive budget a definite compensation for every day of illness for those who need it, after a recognized minimum of sick days. This progressive, and very successful, system lightens the load of many workers' families, because a small budget is assured them. This is continued even during a prolonged illness. On the one hand, it is not very burdensome on the taxpayer and man of means and, on the other, it helps those in need.

Finally, within the municipal realm active cooperation and good attitudes exist in several places between Jew and Arab.

Undoubtedly, within the realm of the municipalities, a path will be found everywhere for real cooperation and constructive attitudes between both populations, whereby both may live and build together.

ABRAHAM FEIN
General Federation of
Jewish Labor, Palestine

Canadian Mayors Seek Federal Aid

A committee of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities has presented to the dominion government the resolutions passed at the federation's annual conference in Vancouver. Unfortunately, each time the federation has appealed to the government to put in practice the findings of its studies on postwar reconstruction, the answer is always the same, "Sorry, but we cannot deal directly with the local authorities." What is needed is a change in the British North America Act under which all power regarding municipalities rests with provincial authorities. This despite the fact that all social legislation of parliament directly concerns the community life of the nation. Even under the most careful administration local taxes do not meet the new expenditures made necessary by increasing public demands for better services. With the basis of municipal taxation strictly limited, local authorities must depend on the aid they can get from federal and provincial governments. "The British North America Act, which was enacted for a rural Canada, cannot be changed too soon," says the *Municipal Review of Canada,* "changed in such a manner as to broaden the basis .of local taxation and to allow for more direct connection between the federal and local authorities."

Saskatchewan Institutes Hospitalization Plan

A dominion-provincial-local scheme of hospitalization in Saskatchewan

went into effect on January 1, 1947. It provides for the payment of hospital services for all residents of the province. Anyone who is a resident of a municipality, rural or urban, for six months or more, will be able to go to a hospital when his doctor sends him, and will receive public ward care and all medical services without charge.

The role of local government is twofold. First, registration of individuals and collection of the personal tax will be by the principal units of local government. Second, the municipalities are becoming more important in operating public hospitals. In the last eighteen months the provincial government has spent $254,000 in grants and approved an additional $80,000 to urban and rural municipal hospitals. Hospital facilities are still being expanded for the estimated increase in their use under the new plan.

If an agreement is reached by the dominion-provincial conference, the federal government will pay 60 per cent of the cost for the complete health service, with the balance to be paid by the province, plus the cost of administration and capital expenditures.

Saskatchewan is now organized into fourteen health regions, not for curative services primarily but to carry on preventive and diagnostic services. Each region has a medical health officer, three sanitary inspectors, twelve nurses, plus doctors and dentists.

Local government retains its vitality in the health function in the Canadian province which is moving toward Socialism.[1]

VOTER'S ROLE

(Continued from page 17)

to say that the fate of democracy in America is wrapped up with the vigor and effectiveness of voluntary non-governmental associations striving each in its own way to educate the people on political subjects and to stimulate them to civic duty on the one hand, and on the other to guard jealously the rights of the people against the domination of selfish influence. It is through such faithful and indefatigable activity that we shall nullify the force of Bryce's classical hindrances to good citizenship—indolence, self-interest and party spirit—in their modern forms.

[1]From *Western Municipal News*, September and October 1946.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 49)

about 53 per cent of the popular vote the Labor party elected fifteen of the eighteen senators chosen. When their terms begin next July they will sit with the eighteen senators elected in 1944 when Labor made a clean sweep of the senatorial election with only 58 per cent of the votes. The new Senate, therefore, will be 92 per cent Labor and 8 per cent opposition.

The election of the House of Representatives, in which the Labor party and the smaller allied Independent Labor party obtained 61 per cent of the seats with their 53 per cent vote under a single-member district system, gave a less extreme distortion of representation. But these percentages give the single-member district system the misleading appearance of more adequate representation than it really provides. By lumping together the votes for all candidates of each party—successful or defeated—it is suggested that the persons voting for defeated candidates are represented by candidates of the same party elected in other districts. A voter is not represented, of course, by a candidate in whose election he could not participate.

Books in Review

For This We Fought. Guide Lines to America's Future. By Stuart Chase. New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1946. x, 123 pp. $1.

This is the final title in a series of six exploratory reports on postwar questions prepared by Stuart Chase for the Twentieth Century Fund. The writer undertakes to answer questions as to what we can do about the disillusion, for both veteran and home front citizen, which has set in. Must we lose the fruits of our victory and perhaps civilization itself by a policy of drifting—dangerous in this atomic age when time is running short? He looks at the aftermath of war, examines the goals that Americans want for their country, emphasizes our abundant power to produce, and gives his ideas of how we should organize to establish prosperity and preserve peace.

Postwar Taxation and Economic Progress. By Harold M. Groves. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1946. xiv, 432 pp. $4.50.

How production and living standards can be fostered through a well ordered tax system is the subject of this book. Based on extensive research into the problems of taxation and its effect on the national economy, the volume was prepared by the author, professor of economics at the University of Wisconsin, for the Committee for Economic Development. Its aim is to set forth certain recommendations for a postwar tax system which, it is hoped, will be to the advantage of all groups.

The problem of shifting taxes from one group to another is covered, with illustrations from actual records and factual data from governmental research bureaus, tax associations and private enterprise. Consumption taxes, including excises and sales taxes, are appraised and compared with the chief alternative, the taxation of net income. The effect of all forms of taxation on the motivation to risk-taking and enterprise, and in turn on the general economy, is examined in detail.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Assessments

1946-47 Assessor's Annual Report of Assessed Valuations and Tax Levies in Multnomah County, Oregon. Based on assessments made as of January 1, 1946, and taxes levied for the fiscal year of July 1, 1946, to June 30, 1947. By Tom C. Watson. Portland, County Assessor, 1946. 24 pp.

Highways

The Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission. By Thomas J. Evans. New York, The Municipal Forum of New York, 1946. 13 pp. 50 cents. (Apply John A. Keane, chairman, Subcommittee on Distribution, 30 Pine Street, New York.)

Housing

Housing and People. Annual Report of the Memphis Housing Authority. Memphis, Tennessee, 1946. 32 pp.

Report of Joint Legislative Committee on Housing and Multiple Dwellings. Albany, New York, Williams Press, Inc., 1946. 55 pp.

International Relations

Recovery in Europe. By John Kenneth Galbraith. (An International Committee Report.) Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1946. 40 pp. 25 cents.

Libraries

Library Service Knoxville - Knox County, Tennessee. Knoxville, The

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Knox County and Knoxville City Planning Commissions, 1946. 31 pp.[1]

The Power of Print. Newark, Public Library, 1946. 48 pp. Illus.

Lobbying

Congressional Lobbying. By F. M. Brewer. Washington, D. C., Editorial Research Reports, 1946. 17 pp. $1.

Planning

Downtown Riverfront Redevelopment Plan. Metropolitan Master Plan. Cincinnati, City Planning Commission, 1946. 9 pp. illus.

Population

Population Changes by Census Tracts, City of Milwaukee, 1920-1940. By William L. Slayton. Milwaukee, City Planning Division, 1946. 26 pp.

Public Works

Report on Plan Preparation of State and Local Public Works, as of June 30, 1946. Washington 25, D. C., Federal Works Agency, Bureau of Community Facilities, 1946. 74 pp.

Radio

Radio Is Yours. By Jerome H. Springarn. New York City, Public Affairs Committee, 1946. 32 pp. Ten cents.

Social Security

How Far Should Our Social Security Program Be Expanded. By John J. Corson, Paul Sifton, Emerson P. Schmidt and Carl T. Curtis. Washington 18, D. C., The American Forum of the Air, 1946. 16 pp. Ten cents.

[1]For further information on this publication see "Knoxville-Knox County Library Program Outlined," the REVIEW, November 1946, page 552.

LET'S QUARANTINE THE BOSSES

(Continued from page 10)

That is not healthy for democracy because it means that throughout most of New Jersey there is no real opposition party. The boss system is the antithesis of the two-party system. We have taken the first necessary steps toward restoring the two-party system in New Jersey.

These are not the only ways to quarantine the bosses. Local situations may call for different solutions. The fight for democracy is never quite, but always to be, won. It is a fight that every citizen who loves his country must not shirk. Wherever a boss appears the decent citizens must rally to quarantine him lest his evil influence infect the things we hold most dear.

Correction

Several corrections in "Tax Rates of American Cities," the REVIEW, December 1946, have been reported by the Bureau of Governmental Research (Detroit) and the National Training School for Public Service, whose Volker Fellows compiled and tabulated the data used.

(1) Page 570, first paragraph: line eight should read "$.52 [not $52] per $1,000 valuation."

(2) Page 572, Table V: in second and third columns, headed "Average Per Capita Assessed Value 1946—1945" decimal point should be omitted from all figures including totals so that they read in thousands of dollars rather than in dollars and cents, i.e., $1,549, not $15.49; $1,475, not $14.75; etc.

(3) Page 576: tax rates for Pittsburgh, Pa., (No. 10 in the list) should be corrected to read: city, $20.11* (*estimated); school, $11.75; county, $8.63; total, $40.49; estimated ratio of assessed value to true value, 100%; adjusted tax rate on 100% basis of assessment, $40.49.